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RURAL DEPOPULATION AND THE SASKATCHEWAN ECONOMY

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The contents of this report reflect the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of either Health and Welfare Canada or Supply and Services Canada.

Brian D. MacLean.

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CHAPTER 1

RURAL DEPOPULATION AND THE SASKATCHEWAN ECONOMY: Introduction and Executive Summary

BRIAN D. MACLEAN

INTRODUCTION

The report contained herein represents the product of a large-scale research project aimed at assessing the relationship between rural depopulation in Saskatchewan and the small town economy. Funds for this project were provided by **The Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy, Health and Welfare Canada.** Commencing in July, 1987, the project, carried out by the authors and supervised by the principal researcher, aimed at tackling the investigation of this important social phenomenon in a variety of different ways. Saskatchewan is a geographically large Province with a very small dispersed population some of which is located in farming areas within the 303 rural municipalities in Saskatchewan and some of which is located in a total of 506 communities ranging in size from a very small number of people to almost 200,000 people.

These demographic considerations mean that a study of rural depopulation in Saskatchewan, if it is to be meaningful, must study the process at both a level which looks at the overall trends in the Province in its entirety, as well as the way in which those trends are realized at the local level. For a project of this nature, to carry out 506 individual community studies would be overly-ambitious, while an analysis of macro-level data remains a feasible endeavour.

The current project has carried out an analysis of Province-wide demographic, and community data in order to assess the nature of demographic changes in Saskatchewan during the last 17 years and to further assess the relationship these trends might bear to socio-economic processes in small communities; however, while such an analysis may

prove informative, the meanings of these changes for the communities in which they are taking place are not established by such research, and clearly such information is crucial for the policy formation process. For this reason, this study also involves an in-depth more qualitative component which aims at achieving such a goal. Hafford, Saskatchewan, situated within the Rural Municipality of Redberry became the community for this investigation. Located approximately one hour's drive from Saskatoon, and with a population of 500-600 people, this community is somewhat representative of the demographic trends in Saskatchewan in that it has gained slightly in population over the past 17 years, while Redberry has realized a significant drop in population for the same period.

Thus, there are two major components to the study: a macro-level quantitative component and a micro-level qualitative component; however, during the course of the latter, a unique research opportunity became available which the authors felt would be useful if exploited. Because the Town of Hafford was celebrating its 75th anniversary, the Council planned a reunion for the Canada Day week-end (1988). In preparation for the celebration, a list of some 3000 ex-residents of the area was prepared by the Town Hall which contained the names and last known addresses of these people. Community studies and studies of migration rarely are able to question migrants about their experiences, reasons for leaving, and so forth because these people are difficult to track down. The researchers decided to make use of this valuable information by conducting a mail-out survey of these ex residents. The survey and its findings, then while adding a dimension to the community study, provides a third component to the study.

This chapter of the report will discuss the background to and key findings of each component of the study, while the following chapters provide a more detailed discussion of the analysis of the data collected.

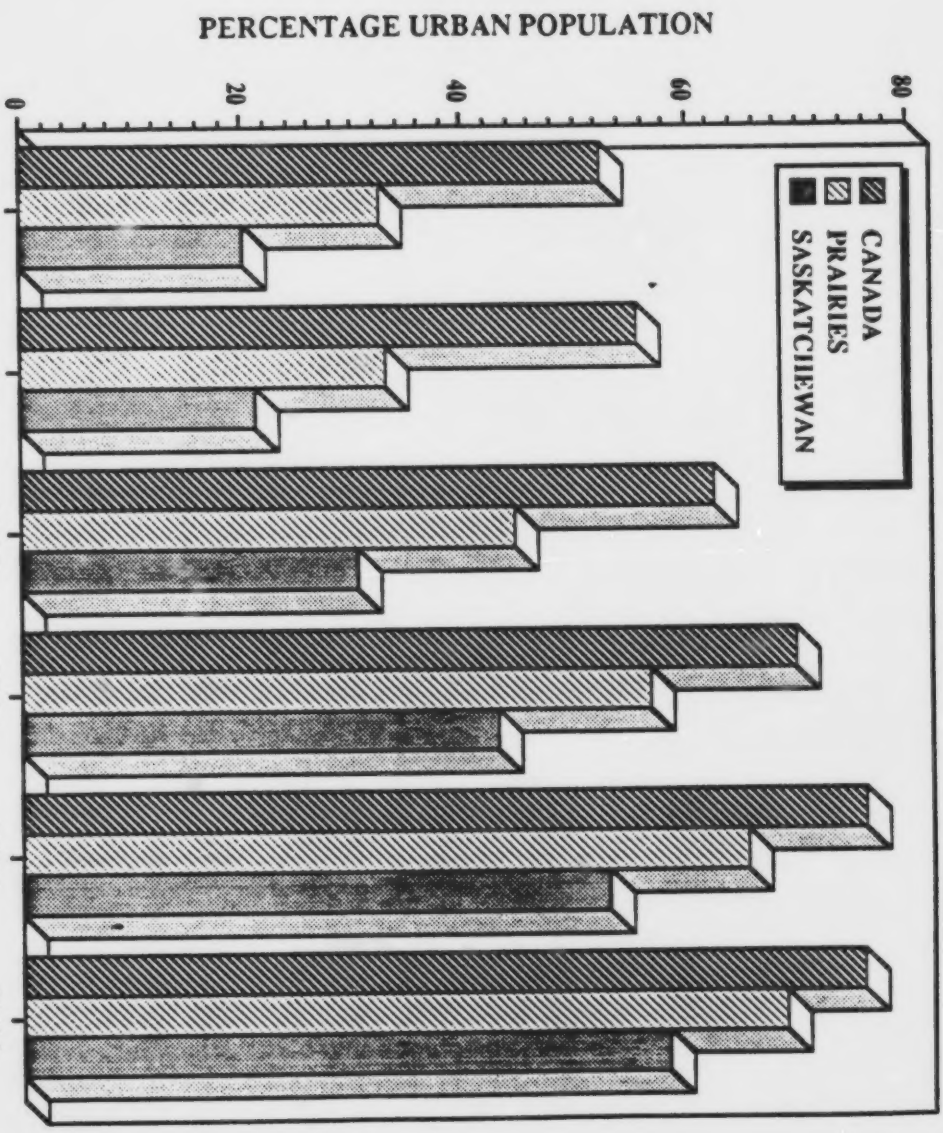
RURAL DEPOPULATION IN SASKATCHEWAN:

THE PROBLEM STATED

During the past 50 years, the population of Canada has been increasingly urbanized. In 1931 the proportion of the Canadian population in cities was 52.5% which has risen to 75.7% by 1981, an increase of approximately 44% living in cities as compared to rural locations. The process of urbanization has been even more pronounced for the prairie provinces, traditionally farming areas. For these provinces the proportion of the population residing in cities has risen from 32.4% in 1981 to 68.8% in 1981, an increase of approximately 114%. Urbanization in Saskatchewan has been yet even more pronounced from 20.3% of residents dwelling in cities in 1931 to 58.2% living in cities in 1981, a growth of approximately 187% over the 50 year period. Clearly, the more traditional farming areas have been losing their population to the cities. Figure 1-1 illustrates these comparative demographic trends.

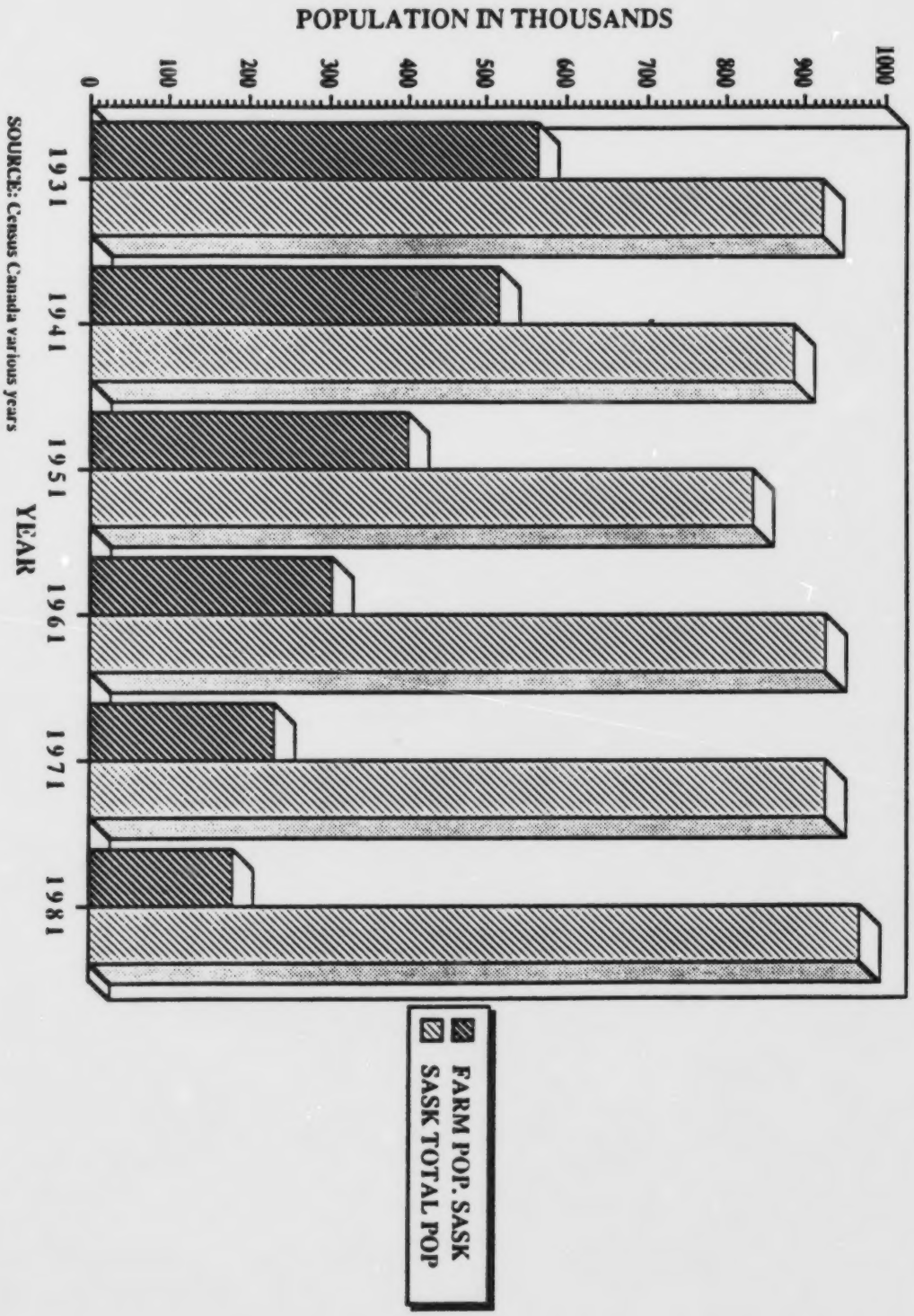
As can be seen in Figure 1-1 the process of urbanization has proceeded at a faster rate than either the other Prairie Provinces or the country as a whole. It might be argued that the population of Canada has grown considerably during the past 50 years, however, and that migration into urban Canada is largely responsible for this increase. Such an argument cannot be made for Saskatchewan, however, because the total population of the Province has remained relatively stable (922,000) in 1931 and 968,000 in 1981) while the farm population has dropped from 564,000 in 1931 to 180,000 in 1981. Thus for Saskatchewan, at least, the

FIGURE 1-1: PROPORTIONATE URBAN POPULATION GROWTH FOR CANADA, PRAIRIE PROVINCES AND SASKATCHEWAN 1931-1981*



SOURCE: Canada Census various years

FIGURE 1-2: COMPARATIVE FARM AND TOTAL SASKATCHEWAN POPULATION GROWTH 1931-1981



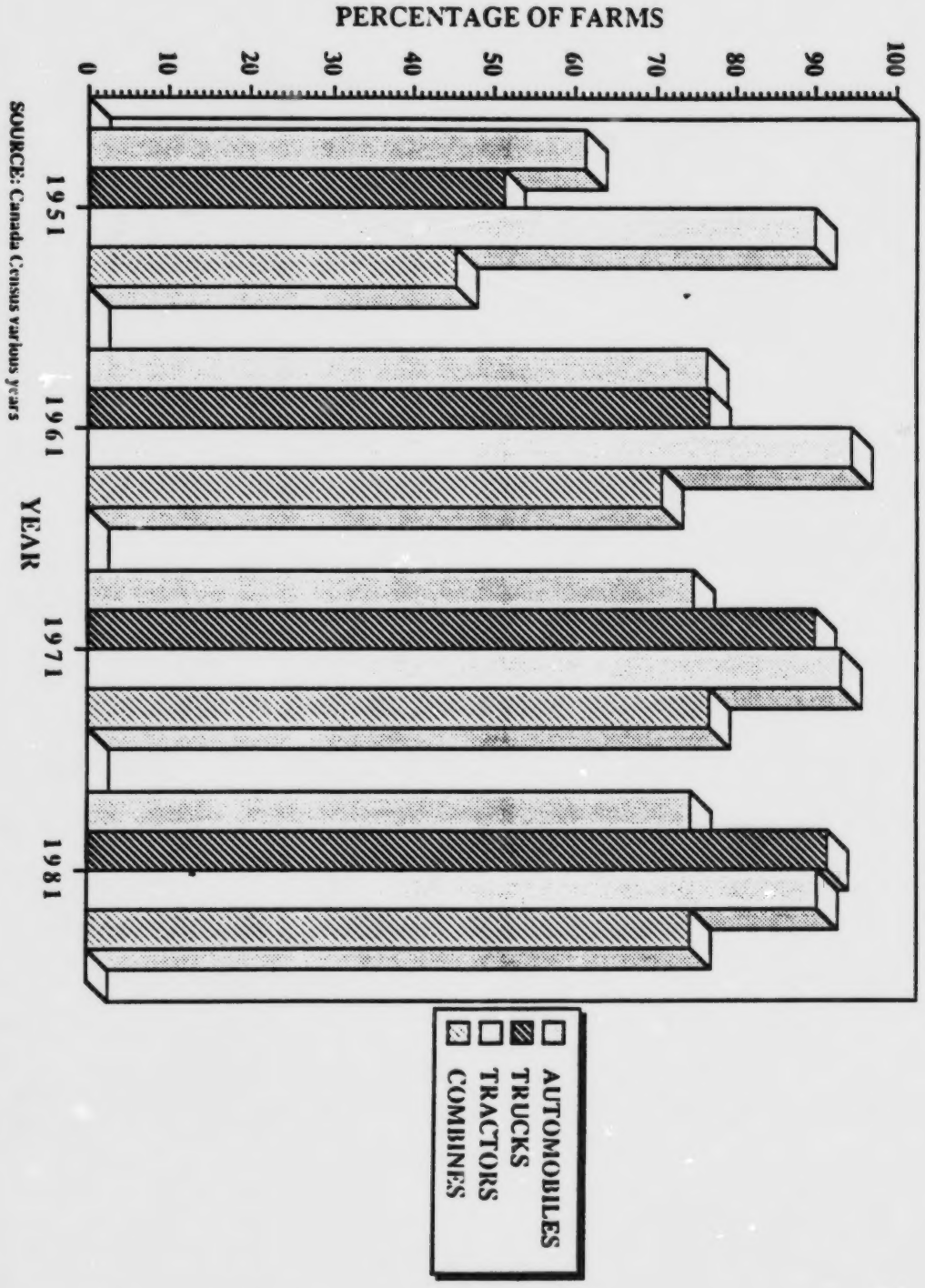
SOURCE: Census Canada various years

comparative growth in urban population has been clearly at the expense of the farming population. These trends are depicted in Figure 1-2.

From Figure 1-2 it can be concluded that Saskatchewan has experienced a decline in its rural population which exceeds other areas of Canada, probably because of the high proportion of farm land. The review of literature in the following chapters suggests that many researchers have equated this trend with the reorganization of the farming sector. The rising capitalization of farming operations is generally equated with a population loss for two reasons. Firstly, as agricultural production becomes more capital intensive, less labour is capable of higher levels of production. The result is that the same area of farm land can be worked by fewer people. Thus the long term tendency is the erosion of the family farming operation and its replacement by the corporate farming operation. Secondly, because of the increase in productivity brought about by capital intensification, the tendency is for the number of farms to decrease while the average size of the farm increases.

One indicator of increasing capitalization of farming is the amount of machinery owned by the operation. Figure 1-3 illustrates the growth in mechanized farming represented by the proportion of farms reporting ownership of automobiles, trucks, tractors and combines. From Figure 1-3 it can be seen that there is an increase in the proportion of farms reporting ownership of all four categories of machinery from 1951 to 1981. However, of key significance is the growth of ownership of combines. The agricultural economy of Saskatchewan is primarily grain production, and the harvesting of grain on large farming operations can really only be accommodated by ownership of this equipment. Thus the significant increase of ownership of combines not only supports the notion that the

FIGURE 1-3: FARMS REPORTING OWNERSHIP OF VARIOUS MACHINERY: 1951-1981



SOURCE: Canada Census various years

capitalization of farming is increasing, but it also provides the basis for the increase in farm size and the decrease in farm labour necessary to farm the same area of land.

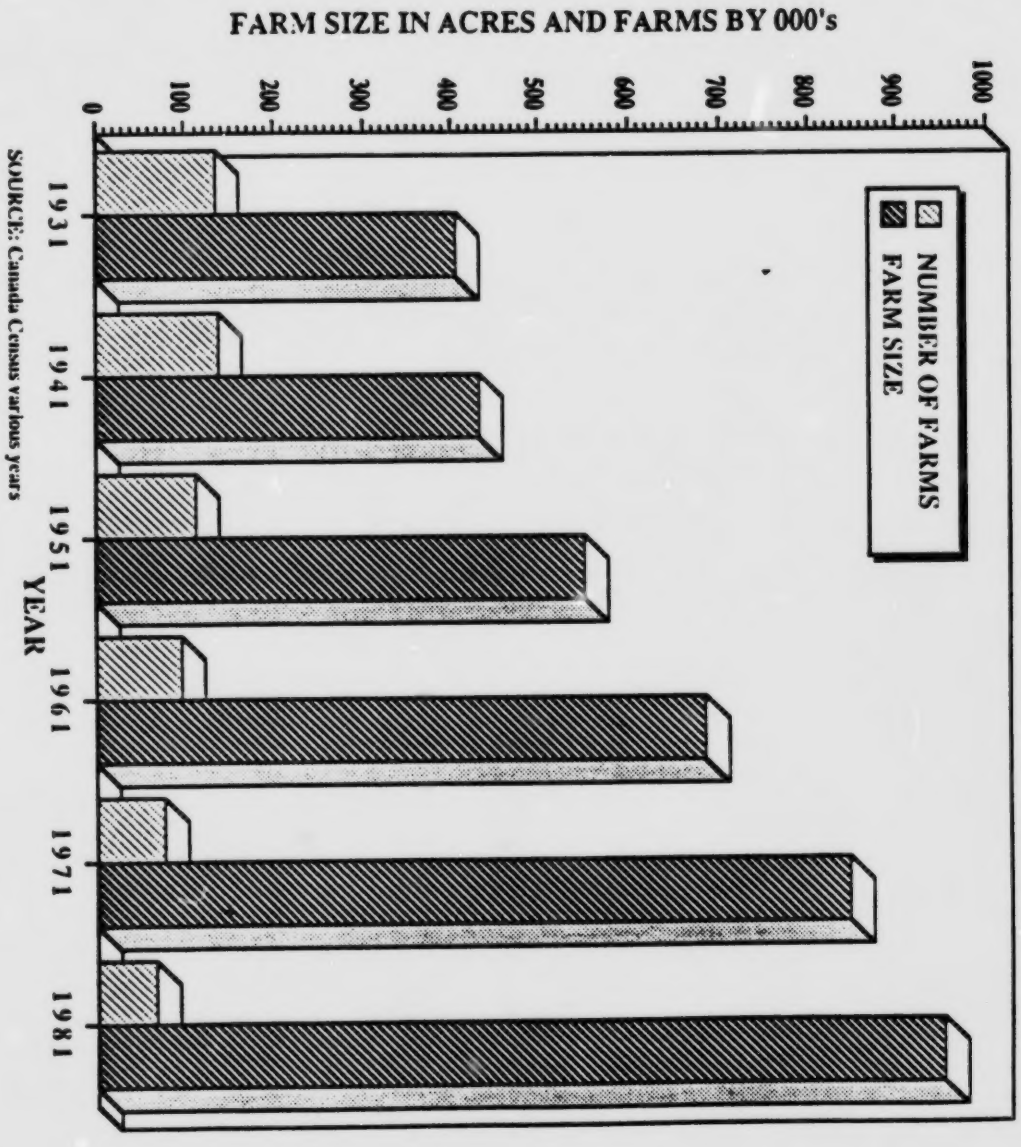
Thus from the data presented to this point, it can be deduced that the average farm size in Saskatchewan will have increased over the past 50 years and that concomitant with this increase is a decrease in the number of farms. In order to appreciate the magnitude of these trends, Figure 1-4 presents a graphic comparison of the growth in average farm size and the decrease in the number of farms from 1931 to 1981.

Figure1-4 illustrates that the number of farms has more than halved from 136,000 in 1931 to 67,000 in 1981. Concomitant with this decrease, however, there is an increase of approximately 133% in the average farm size from 408 acres in 1931 to 952 acres in 1981. Thus in the Province of Saskatchewan, there has been a significant increase in farm size over the past 50 years which is associated with increasing capitalization of the farming sector and a decrease in both the number of farms and the population living on those farms.

It is not unreasonable to expect that the trends described above will occur and will continue to occur. The description of such trends is illustrative in that it depicts a changing social formation in Saskatchewan. Nevertheless, a number of key questions are raised by the acceptance of these trends as real which can only be answered through detailed investigation. Of key concern to this project were the following questions:

1. What social factors in Saskatchewan propel the rural to urban migration patterns observed over the last 50 years, but in particular in the last 20 years?

FIGURE 1-4: COMPARITIVE GROWTH IN AVERAGE FARM SIZE AND FARM NUMBERS IN SASKATCHEWAN 1931-1981



SOURCE: Canada Census various years

2. What effect does rural population have on economic developments of small Saskatchewan communities?

3. What are the social demographic and economic implications of these trends for the future of Saskatchewan?

Each of the three components attempt to answer these questions in different ways as enumerated below.

PHASE I

BACKGROUND

The first component of the research involved a macro-analysis of population and economic trends. Between the census years of 1981 and 1986, 80% of Rural Municipalities lost population while 30% lost at least 10% of their population. A key raised by these data concerns where this population has moved to--larger urban centres or small towns located within the Rural Municipalities. A second question concerns the relation between where this population migrates to and its impact upon the local economy.

Information for this stage of the research came from a variety of sources. Originally, it was planned to obtain census data in order to establish the demographic trends; however, it became apparent that electronic files were available only to 1971 and that the census counts from 1971 to the present were inconsistent. In order to carry out a study with the detail required, it was necessary to have annual population counts. The Saskatchewan Health Services Plan (SHSP) maintains annual records of population. Because everyone residing in the province is eligible for free health care, these records represent an important and accurate annual head count of the population, despite the fact that there

are some differences between these counts and the census counts for the various years. While these differences are recognized, they are generally small in nature and the SHSP data are generally regarded as more accurate. For this reason, these data were utilized in the study.

A total of 17 data files were purchased form SHSP which provided annual head counts partitioned by Rural Municipalities and communities. These data were collapsed into age categories by sex and became the basis for the analysis of population trends.

In order to establish the relations between the trends observed in the SHSP data and the local economies, a source of social and economic data for each community was required. While there are indeed a variety of sources of information, there is nothing which resembles a consistent data set and the type of data collection and reporting varies from agency to agency. One important source of information is the Department of Rural Development in Saskatchewan (later transferred to the Saskatchewan Department of Tourism and Small Business) community profile data. These data provide measures on a host of social and economic variables by community, however, for longitudinal analysis, these data are somewhat problematic. Firstly, these data were originally produced for communities in which the population exceed 500. Over time, the number of communities reporting increased so that only 50 communities provided year by year reports since 1971 on all information, and these were ones with the largest populations and therefore, of less interest to the project. Furthermore, in 1986, the Department of Tourism and Small Business began to report on communities with populations less than 500 or those of most interest to the study.

While data files were constructed which contained measures on those communities with reported information back to 1971, it was decided that a one-time measure for 1986 on the social and economic variables would be of most benefit to the study. Such a strategy would allow for all communities reporting to be included in the study, and once constructed, this data file was merged with the population data to construct a data file consisting of 506 communities. Because the social and economic data were based on on year's reporting (1986) it was pointless to included year by year population estimates for these communities. For this reason, it was decided to maintain population estimates for 1971, 1981 and 1986. The final data file then consisted of 506 communities with seven records of information for each: three records for the population of the community itself (1971,1981,1986), three records for the population of the Rural Municipality within which the community os located (1971,1981,1986), and one record pertaining to the social and economic variable estimates derived from the community profile data.

Once this data file was constructed, those communities which did not report community profile data and those in which the population was in excess of 5000 people were excluded from the analysis, leaving the final data file with 304 communities with complete information for which the path analysis in this component of the research was carried out.

KEY FINDINGS

- The study found that it was the migration of the elderly population which forms the major basis for rural depopulation.

- The study found that gains and losses in the elderly population are largely dependent upon the 1971 population size.

- The study found that local retail sales and the functional diversity of towns are largely dependent upon the changes in the elderly population.

- Distance from the nearest city and the condition of the local economy also affect services and retail trade significantly.

- The study concludes that small town services and retail sales in Saskatchewan are sustained by the elderly population so that any decline in this population would probably be related to the demise of the small town economy.

A thorough discussion of the Phase I component of the study, its conclusions and recommendations is provided in chapter 2 of this report.

PHASE II

BACKGROUND TO THE CASE STUDY

The Town of Hafford, located in the Rural Municipality of Redberry, was the community chosen for the case study. This component of the study had two specific objectives. Firstly, the extent of depopulation in the town itself was to be determined as well as a qualitative assessment of both how this process was viewed by the residents and its impact upon the social and economic life of Hafford. Secondly, the depopulation of the surrounding Rural Municipality with its impact upon the social and economic life of the Town of Hafford was to be also determined.

Fieldwork for this phase of the project began in January 1988, and continued through July, 1988. Several field trips were made to the area by the research team, and the researcher employed for this phase of the project spent most of her time living in the community while conducting the field work.

Data for this component of the project was collected by a variety of methods. A series of in-depth unstructured interviews were conducted with a number of key townspeople chosen for interview because of their representativeness of a specific social group. Data from secondary sources such as 20 years of Town Council Minutes were also collected and analyzed (a thorough discussion of these sources of data can be found in chapter three of this report). Data from the seventeen population files acquired from SHSP provided the basis for a more detailed description and analysis of the demographic shifts occurring in Hafford, Redberry and Krydor (the only other town in the Rural Municipality). Finally, field observations of the local people in their daily activities were made, and more focussed interviews were conducted with members of the Town Council, The Board of Trade and The Office of The Rural Municipality.

KEY FINDINGS OF THE CASE STUDY

- For the Rural Municipality of Redberry there is a significant decline in the overall population which can be mostly attributed to the decline of the under 20 population, although there is also a slight decrease in the 65 and older population over the 18 years. These trends are illustrated graphically in Figure1-5.

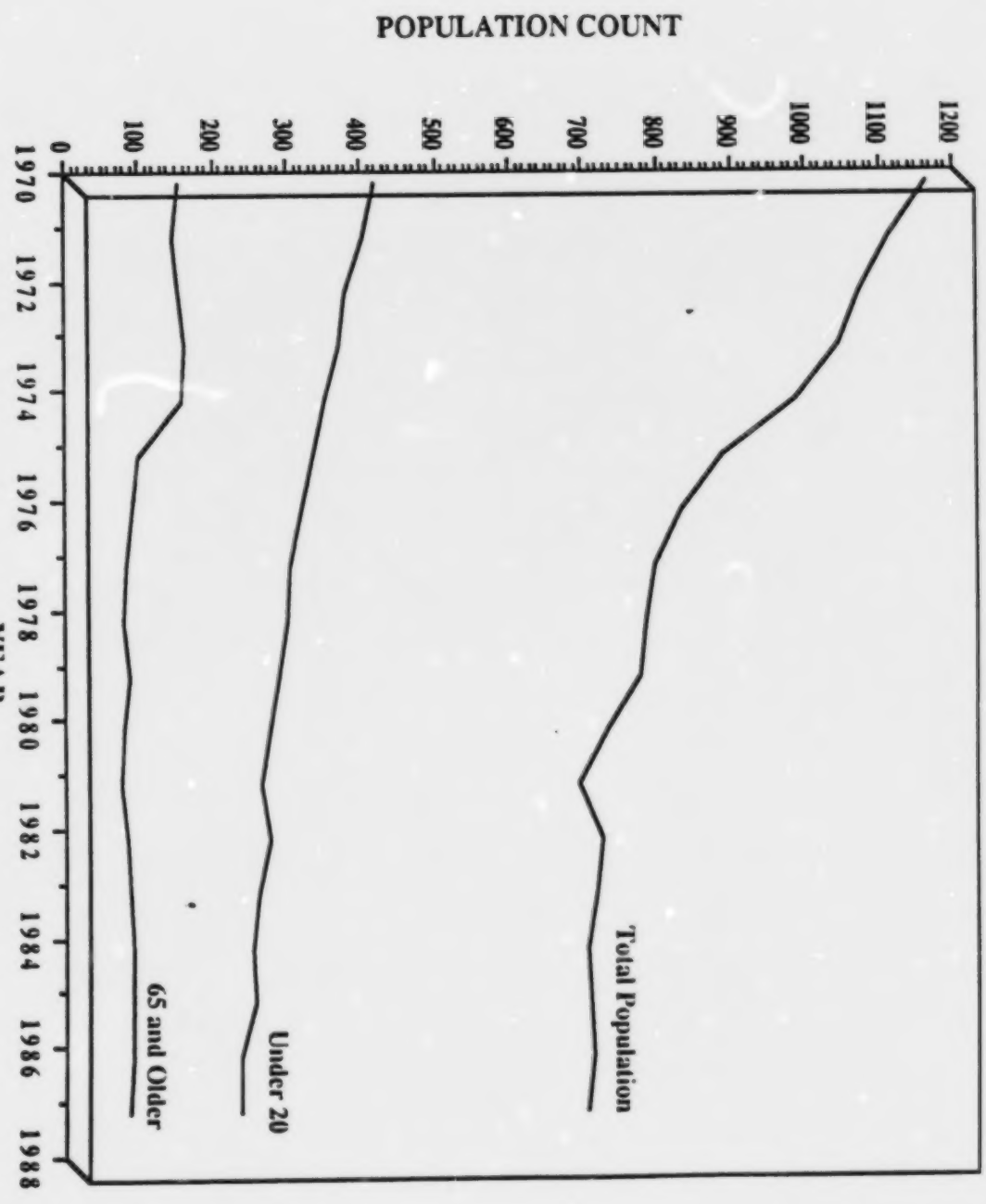


FIGURE 1-5: POPULATION TRENDS FOR THE RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF REDBERRY 1970-1987

SOURCE: Compiled from SIISP data tapes 1970-1987

- For the Town of Hafford, there is a slight increase in the total population and a slight decline in the under 20 population while there is an increase in the elderly population. These trends are illustrated in Figure 1-6

- The Town of Krydor has seen a significant drop in all segments of its population over the past 18 years. These trends are illustrated in Figure 1-7.

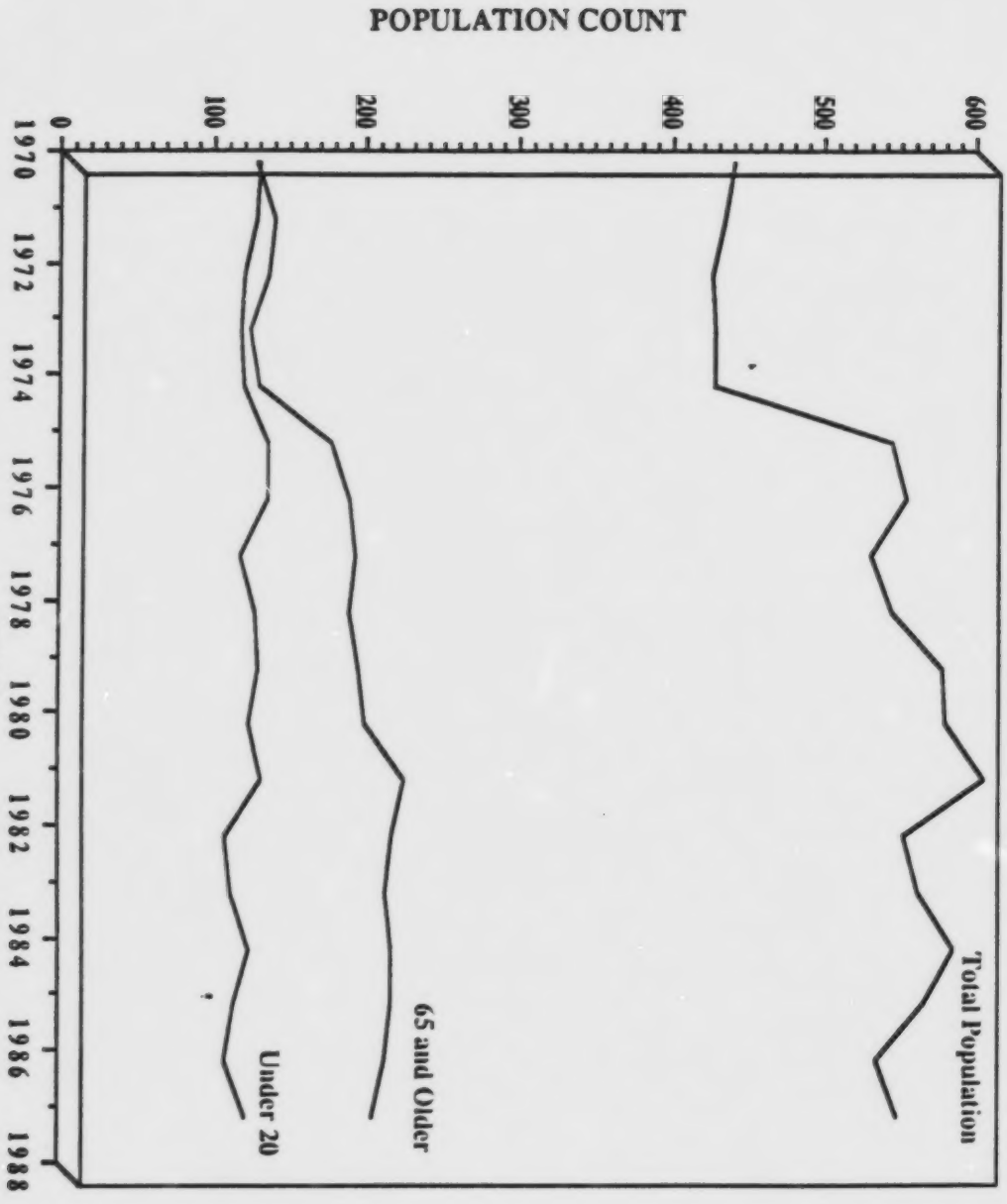
Thus it would appear that there has been a loss of the younger population in both the towns and the R.M. most likely due to both the poor job and educational opportunities as well as the reorganization of farming (this point is further developed in chapters 3 and 4 of this report). However, a good portion of the elderly population lost in the R.M. has been gained by the town. This finding confirms the importance of the elderly population in the sustenance of the small town economy identified in Phase I of the project.

- Projections of total population trends for the R.M. of Redberry and the Towns of Hafford and Krydor (calculated by logarithmic regression) are given in Figure 1-8.

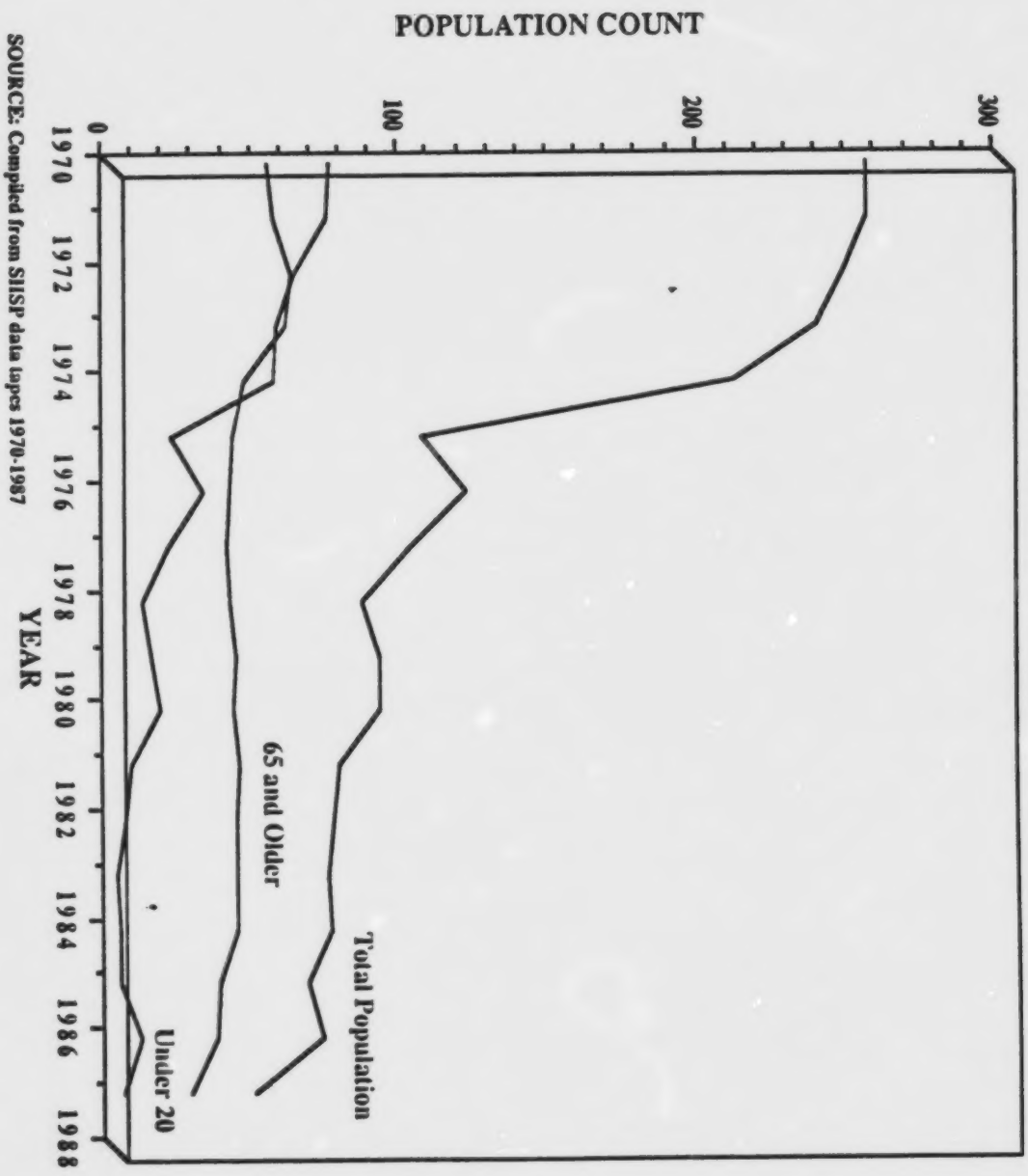
- Projections of the under age 20 population trends for the R.M. of Redberry and the Towns of Hafford and Krydor (calculated by logarithmic regression) are given in Figure 1-9.

- Projections of the age 65 and over population trends for the R.M. of Redberry and the Towns of Hafford and Krydor (calculated by logarithmic regression) are given in Figure 1-10.

FIGURE 1-6: POPULATION TRENDS FOR THE TOWN OF HAFFORD 1970-1987



SOURCE: Compiled from SIISP data tapes 1970-1987



SOURCE: Compiled from SISP data tapes 1970-1987

FIGURE 1-7: POPULATION TRENDS FOR THE VILLAGE OF KRYDOR 1970-1987

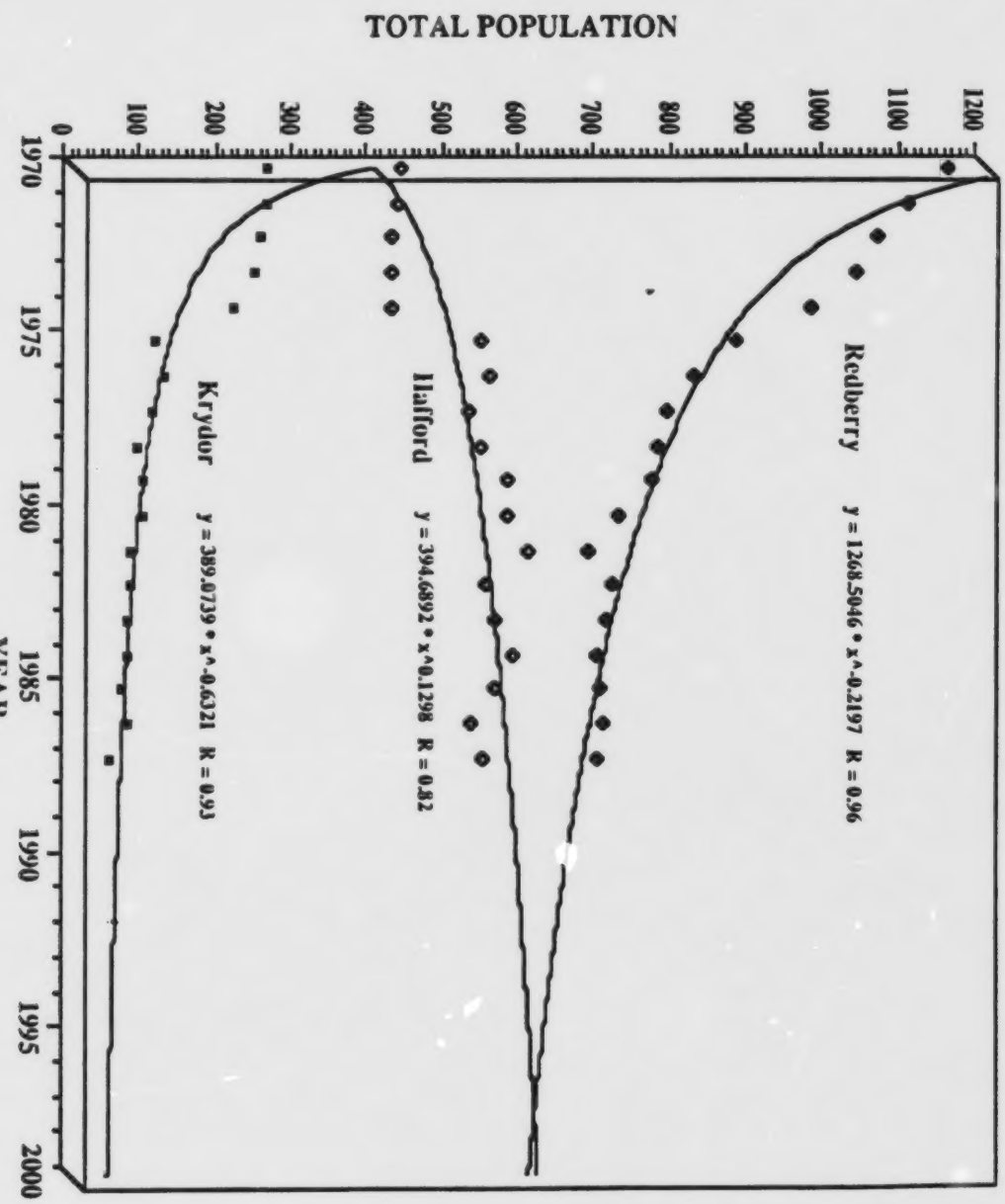
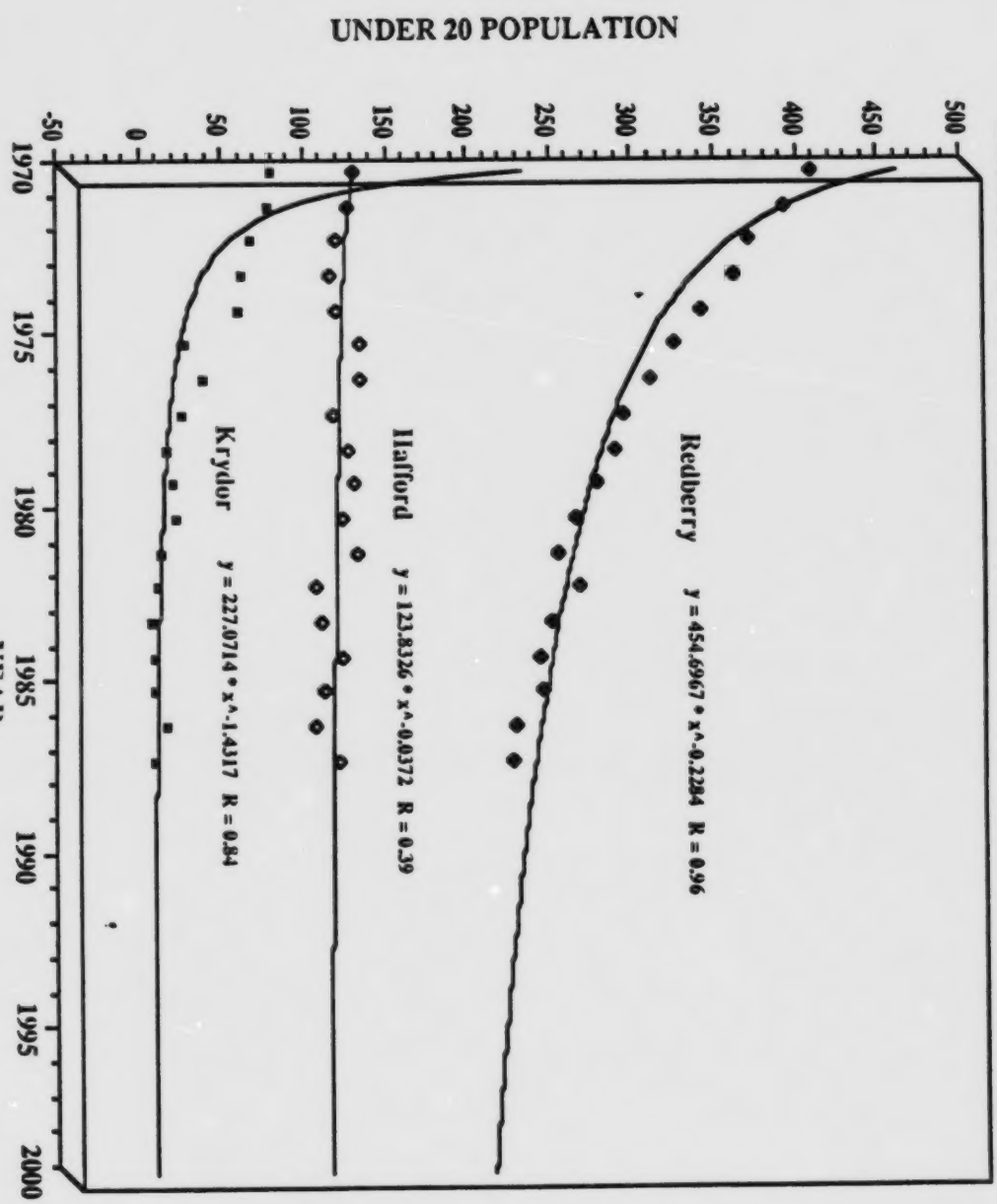


FIGURE 1-8: EXTENDED TOTAL POPULATION TRENDS FOR REDBERRY, HAFFORD AND KRYDOR 1970-2000

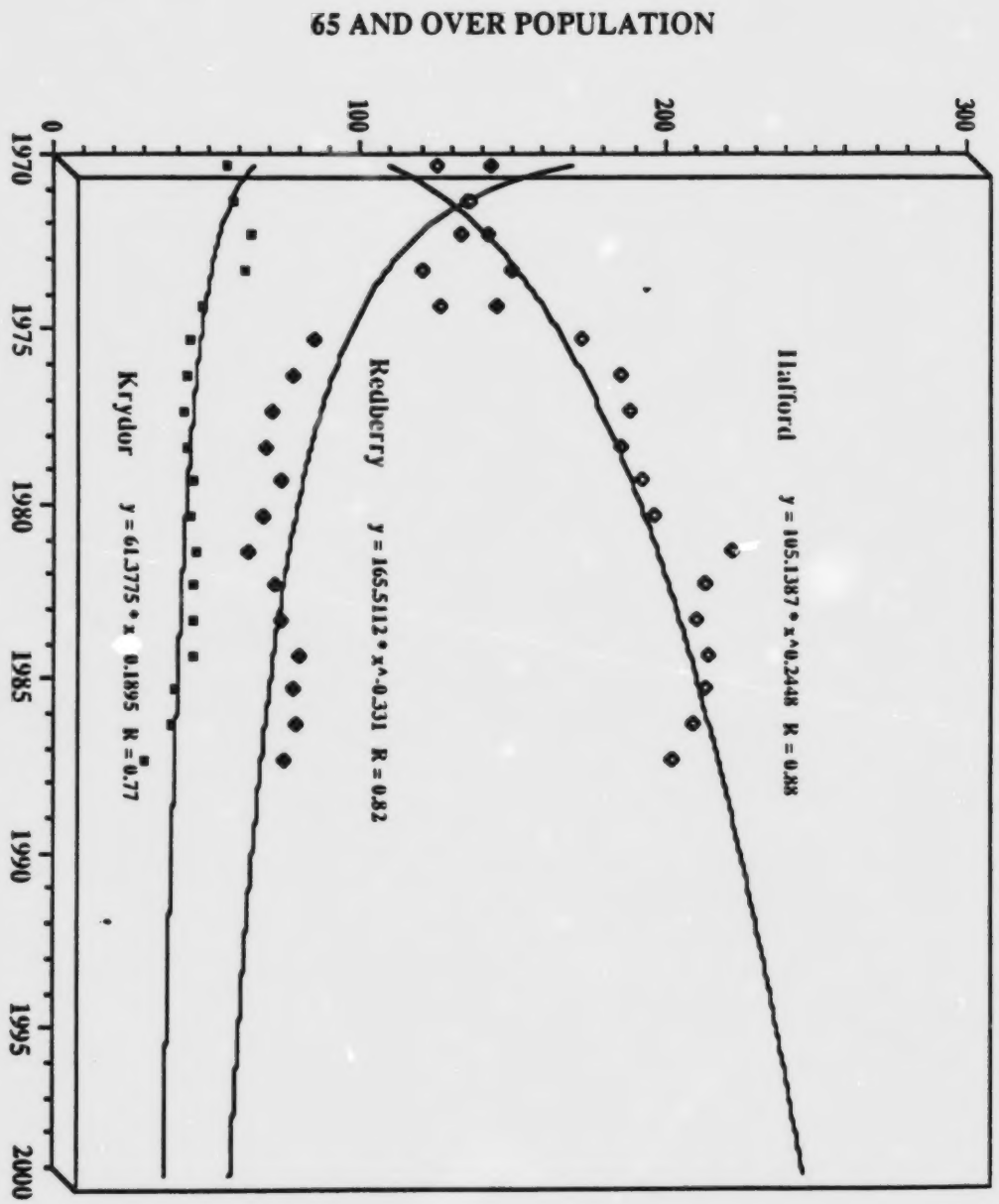
SOURCE: Compiled from SIISP data tapes 1970-1987

FIGURE 1-9: EXTENDED POPULATION TRENDS, UNDER 20 COHORT FOR REDBERRY, HAFFORD AND KRYDOR 1970-2000



SOURCE: Compiled from SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

FIGURE 1-10: EXTENDED POPULATION TRENDS, OVER 65 COHORT FOR REDBERRY, HAFFORD AND KRYDOR 1970-2000



SOURCE: Compiled from SIISP data tapes 1970-1987

Figures 1-8 through 1-10 illustrate that if the current population trends of the past 18 years continue, Krydor will become non-existentwhile the Town of Hafford should continue to grow. The success of the local economy will be largely due to the increase in the elderly population derived mainly from the R.M. and other smaller communities in the vicinity of Redberry.

- The changing age and sex structure of the population in Hafford, Redberry and Krydor between 1970 and 1987 inclusively are given in Tables 1-1 to 1-18.

- Because there is a large proportion of young people leaving the Rural Municipality of Redberry, and because very few of these young people actually move to the Town of Hafford, the case study concludes that the town is living on borrowed time. The decline in the R.M. population suggests that there is a very limited supply of aging people who can elect to retire in the town. When the findings from Phase I are considered, it seems very likely that Hafford will not be able to compete with some of the larger centres for the elderly population who will look to larger communities for retirement, contributing to the growth of those communities instead of Hafford. Thus unless Hafford is able to attract and keep a younger population, the past trend of a slight growth in the population may well turn into a future trend of rapid depopulation.

- A more thorough discussion of these trends and their implications, a social history of Hafford, and the results of the case study are detailed in chapter 3 of this report.

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1970 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	190	153	168	91	602	213	129	155	48	545
Pct	16.56%	13.34%	14.65%	7.93%	52.48%	18.57%	11.25%	13.51%	4.18%	47.52%
HAFFORD										
Sum	62	34	57	53	206	61	37	60	68	226
Pct	14.35%	7.87%	13.19%	12.27%	47.69%	14.12%	8.56%	13.89%	15.74%	52.31%
KRYDOR										
Sum	36	27	37	27	127	37	25	40	25	127
Pct	14.17%	10.63%	14.57%	10.63%	50.00%	14.57%	9.84%	15.75%	9.84%	50.00%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1970 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	403	282	323	139	1147
Pct	35.14%	24.59%	28.16%	12.12%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	123	71	117	121	432
Pct	28.47%	16.44%	27.08%	28.01%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	73	52	77	52	254
Pct	28.74%	20.47%	30.31%	20.47%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-1

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1971 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	190	142	168	87	587	196	123	146	44	509
Pct	17.34%	12.96%	15.33%	7.94%	53.56%	17.88%	11.22%	13.32%	4.01%	46.44%
HAFFORD										
Sum	64	28	53	61	196	66	36	58	71	231
Pct	12.65%	6.56%	12.41%	14.29%	45.90%	15.46%	8.43%	13.58%	16.63%	54.10%
KRYDOR										
Sum	35	23	40	30	128	37	25	40	24	126
Pct	13.78%	9.06%	15.75%	11.81%	50.39%	14.57%	9.84%	15.75%	9.45%	49.61%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1971 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	386	265	314	131	1096
Pct	35.22%	24.18%	28.65%	11.95%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	120	64	111	132	427
Pct	28.10%	14.99%	26.00%	30.91%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	72	48	80	54	254
Pct	28.35%	18.90%	31.50%	21.26%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1976-1987

TABLE1-2

TABLE1-3

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1972 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	189	132	167	86	574	176	123	135	52	486
Pct	17.85%	12.46%	15.77%	8.12%	54.20%	16.63%	11.61%	12.75%	4.91%	45.80%
HAFFORD										
Sum	60	32	52	60	194	63	32	60	69	224
Pct	11.96%	7.66%	12.44%	14.35%	46.41%	15.07%	7.66%	14.35%	16.51%	53.59%
KRYDOR										
Sum	32	26	36	34	127	29	26	38	26	119
Pct	13.81%	10.16%	14.63%	13.82%	51.63%	11.79%	10.57%	15.45%	10.57%	48.37%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1972 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	364	255	302	138	1059
Pct	34.37%	24.08%	28.52%	13.03%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	113	64	112	129	418
Pct	27.03%	15.31%	26.79%	30.86%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	61	51	74	60	246
Pct	24.80%	20.73%	30.08%	24.39%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-4

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1973 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	183	129	166	87	555	173	117	127	59	476
Pct	17.75%	12.51%	16.13%	8.44%	53.83%	16.78%	11.35%	12.32%	5.72%	46.17%
HAFFORD										
Sum	49	48	66	62	197	61	37	61	64	223
Pct	11.67%	9.52%	13.33%	12.38%	46.90%	14.52%	8.81%	14.52%	15.24%	53.10%
KRYDOR										
Sum	32	27	36	33	128	23	23	38	25	109
Pct	13.58%	11.39%	15.19%	13.92%	54.01%	9.70%	9.70%	16.03%	10.55%	45.99%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1973 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	356	246	283	146	1031
Pct	34.53%	23.86%	27.45%	14.16%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	110	77	117	116	420
Pct	26.19%	18.33%	27.86%	27.62%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	55	50	74	58	237
Pct	23.21%	21.10%	31.22%	24.47%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1974 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	173	127	143	83	526	162	107	119	58	446
Pct	17.80%	13.07%	14.71%	8.54%	54.12%	16.67%	11.01%	12.24%	5.97%	45.88%
HAFFORD										
Sum	51	38	53	51	193	62	33	61	71	227
Pct	12.14%	9.05%	12.62%	12.14%	45.95%	14.76%	7.86%	14.52%	16.90%	54.05%
KRYDOR										
Sum	31	23	34	23	111	23	22	32	21	98
Pct	14.83%	11.00%	16.27%	11.00%	53.11%	11.00%	10.53%	15.31%	10.05%	46.89%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1974 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	335	234	262	141	972
Pct	34.47%	24.07%	26.95%	14.51%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	113	71	114	122	420
Pct	26.90%	16.90%	27.14%	29.05%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	54	45	66	44	209
Pct	25.84%	21.53%	31.58%	21.05%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1978-1987

TABLE1-5

TABLE1-6

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1975 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	165	122	140	53	480	154	100	109	28	391
Pct	18.94%	14.01%	16.07%	6.08%	55.11%	17.68%	11.48%	12.51%	3.21%	44.89%
HAFFORD										
Sum	60	49	74	73	256	68	47	70	96	281
Pct	11.17%	9.12%	13.78%	13.59%	47.67%	12.66%	8.75%	13.04%	17.88%	52.33%
KRYDOR										
Sum	8	9	11	21	49	12	10	15	19	56
Pct	7.62%	8.57%	10.48%	20.00%	46.67%	11.43%	9.52%	14.29%	18.10%	53.33%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1975 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	319	222	249	81	871
Pct	36.62%	25.49%	28.59%	9.30%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	128	96	144	169	537
Pct	23.84%	17.88%	26.82%	31.47%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	20	19	26	40	105
Pct	19.05%	18.10%	24.76%	38.10%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1976-1987

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1976 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	156	117	128	48	449	149	94	100	26	369
Pct	19.07%	14.30%	15.65%	5.87%	54.89%	18.22%	11.49%	12.22%	3.18%	45.11%
HAFFORD										
Sum	61	45	75	81	262	67	46	71	101	285
Pct	11.16%	8.23%	13.71%	14.81%	47.90%	12.25%	8.41%	12.98%	18.46%	52.10%
KRYDOR										
Sum	14	11	10	19	54	17	14	14	20	65
Pct	11.76%	9.24%	8.40%	15.97%	45.38%	14.29%	11.76%	11.76%	16.81%	54.62%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1976 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	305	211	228	74	818
Pct	37.29%	25.79%	27.87%	9.05%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	128	91	146	182	547
Pct	23.40%	16.64%	26.69%	33.27%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	31	25	24	39	119
Pct	26.05%	21.01%	20.17%	32.77%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1976-1987

TABLE1-7

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1977 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	148	118	120	42	428	141	98	90	25	354
Pct	18.93%	15.09%	15.36%	5.37%	54.73%	18.03%	12.53%	11.51%	3.20%	45.27%
HAFFORD										
Sum	58	39	72	89	256	55	46	70	96	267
Pct	10.71%	7.46%	13.77%	17.02%	48.96%	10.52%	8.80%	13.38%	18.36%	51.05%
KRYDOR										
Sum	8	9	10	21	48	11	12	13	17	53
Pct	7.92%	8.91%	9.90%	20.79%	47.52%	10.89%	11.88%	12.87%	16.83%	52.48%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1977 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	289	216	210	67	782
Pct	36.96%	27.62%	26.85%	8.57%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	111	85	142	185	523
Pct	21.22%	16.26%	27.15%	35.37%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	19	21	23	38	101
Pct	18.81%	20.79%	22.77%	37.62%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-8

TABLE1-9

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1978 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	145	118	116	39	418	138	103	84	26	351
Pct	18.86%	15.34%	15.08%	5.07%	54.36%	17.95%	13.39%	10.92%	3.38%	45.64%
HAFFORD										
Sum	82	44	69	88	283	58	47	74	94	273
Pct	11.57%	6.21%	12.87%	16.42%	49.07%	10.82%	8.77%	13.81%	17.54%	50.93%
KRYDOR										
Sum	4	8	8	22	42	6	6	13	17	42
Pct	4.76%	9.52%	9.52%	26.19%	50.00%	7.14%	7.14%	15.48%	20.24%	50.00%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1978 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	283	221	200	65	769
Pct	36.80%	28.74%	26.01%	8.45%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	120	91	143	182	536
Pct	22.39%	16.98%	26.68%	33.96%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	10	14	21	39	84
Pct	11.90%	16.67%	25.00%	46.43%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-10

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1979 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	142	117	116	43	418	130	101	86	27	344
Pct	18.64%	15.35%	15.22%	5.64%	54.86%	17.06%	13.25%	11.29%	3.54%	45.14%
HAFFORD										
Sum	59	61	63	90	273	64	62	74	98	298
Pct	10.33%	10.68%	11.03%	15.76%	47.81%	11.21%	10.86%	12.96%	17.16%	52.19%
KRYDOR										
Sum	6	9	9	22	46	7	6	12	19	44
Pct	6.67%	10.00%	10.00%	24.44%	51.11%	7.78%	6.67%	13.33%	21.11%	48.89%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1979 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	272	218	202	70	762
Pct	35.70%	28.61%	26.51%	9.19%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	123	123	137	188	571
Pct	21.54%	21.54%	23.99%	32.92%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	13	15	21	41	90
Pct	14.44%	16.67%	23.33%	45.56%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-11

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1980 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	134	112	107	41	394	126	96	79	23	324
Pct	18.66%	15.60%	14.90%	5.71%	54.87%	17.55%	13.37%	11.00%	3.20%	45.13%
HAFFORD										
Sum	60	63	60	89	272	57	66	74	103	300
Pct	10.49%	11.01%	10.49%	15.56%	47.55%	9.97%	11.54%	12.94%	18.01%	52.45%
KRYDOR										
Sum	6	9	8	23	46	10	7	10	17	44
Pct	6.67%	10.00%	8.89%	25.56%	51.11%	11.11%	7.78%	11.11%	18.89%	48.89%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1980 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	260	208	186	64	718
Pct	36.21%	28.97%	25.91%	8.91%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	117	129	134	192	572
Pct	20.45%	22.55%	23.43%	33.57%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	16	16	18	40	90
Pct	17.78%	17.78%	20.00%	44.44%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-12

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1981 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	129	110	96	41	376	120	94	72	18	304
Pct	18.97%	16.18%	14.12%	6.03%	55.29%	17.65%	13.82%	10.59%	2.65%	44.71%
HAFFORD										
Sum	64	63	60	96	283	61	64	69	122	316
Pct	10.68%	10.52%	10.02%	16.03%	47.25%	10.18%	10.68%	11.52%	20.37%	52.75%
KRYDOR										
Sum	1	6	8	23	38	5	5	9	19	38
Pct	1.32%	7.89%	10.53%	30.26%	50.00%	6.58%	6.58%	11.84%	25.00%	50.00%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1981 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	249	204	168	59	680
Pct	36.62%	30.00%	24.71%	8.68%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	125	127	129	218	599
Pct	20.87%	21.20%	21.54%	36.39%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	6	11	17	42	76
Pct	7.89%	14.47%	22.37%	55.26%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1982 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	137	106	98	48	389	124	100	78	20	320
Pct	19.32%	14.95%	13.82%	6.77%	54.87%	17.49%	14.10%	10.72%	2.82%	45.13%
HAFFORD										
Sum	49	58	58	90	253	52	60	61	119	292
Pct	8.99%	10.28%	10.64%	16.51%	46.42%	9.54%	11.01%	11.19%	21.83%	53.58%
KRYDOR										
Sum	3	7	8	23	41	1	5	9	18	33
Pct	4.05%	9.46%	10.81%	31.08%	55.41%	1.35%	6.76%	12.16%	24.32%	44.59%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1982 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	261	206	174	68	709
Pct	36.81%	29.06%	24.54%	9.59%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	101	118	119	209	545
Pct	18.53%	21.28%	21.83%	38.35%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	4	12	17	41	74
Pct	5.41%	16.22%	22.97%	55.41%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1978-1987

TABLE1-13

TABLE1-14

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1983 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	126	111	102	48	387	119	90	77	22	314
Pct	17.97%	15.83%	14.55%	6.85%	55.21%	16.98%	13.69%	10.98%	3.14%	44.79%
HAFFORD										
Sum	54	62	56	85	257	50	68	59	121	298
Pct	9.73%	11.17%	10.09%	15.32%	46.31%	9.01%	12.25%	10.63%	21.80%	53.69%
KRYDOR										
Sum	1	8	8	23	40	0	4	10	18	32
Pct	1.39%	11.11%	11.11%	31.94%	55.56%	0.00	5.56%	13.89%	25.00%	44.44%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1983 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	245	207	179	70	701
Pct	34.95%	29.53%	25.53%	9.99%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	104	130	115	206	555
Pct	18.74%	23.42%	20.72%	37.12%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	1	12	18	41	72
Pct	1.39%	16.67%	25.00%	56.94%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1984 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	121	107	100	49	377	117	91	77	27	312
Pct	17.66%	15.63%	14.61%	7.11%	54.72%	16.98%	13.21%	11.18%	3.92%	45.28%
HAFFORD										
Sum	60	70	54	87	271	57	74	54	123	308
Pct	10.36%	12.09%	9.33%	15.03%	46.80%	9.84%	12.78%	9.33%	21.24%	53.20%
KRYDOR										
Sum	1	9	7	22	39	1	5	9	19	34
Pct	1.37%	12.33%	9.59%	30.14%	53.42%	1.37%	6.85%	12.33%	26.03%	46.58%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1984 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	238	198	177	76	689
Pct	34.54%	28.74%	25.69%	11.03%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	117	144	108	210	579
Pct	20.21%	24.87%	18.66%	36.27%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	2	14	16	41	73
Pct	2.74%	19.18%	21.92%	56.16%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-15

TABLE1-16

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1986 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	125	109	99	46	379	114	93	79	28	314
Pct	18.04%	15.73%	14.29%	6.64%	54.69%	16.45%	13.42%	11.40%	4.04%	45.31%
HAFFORD										
Sum	49	75	49	85	258	57	66	53	124	300
Pct	8.78%	13.44%	8.78%	15.23%	46.24%	10.22%	11.83%	9.50%	22.22%	53.76%
KRYDOR										
Sum	1	8	6	17	32	1	5	8	19	33
Pct	1.54%	12.31%	9.23%	26.15%	49.23%	1.54%	7.69%	12.31%	29.23%	50.77%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1986 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	239	202	178	74	693
Pct	34.49%	29.15%	25.69%	10.68%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	106	141	102	209	558
Pct	19.00%	25.27%	18.28%	37.46%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	2	13	14	36	65
Pct	3.08%	20.00%	21.54%	55.38%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1986 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	117	120	103	46	386	106	90	80	29	311
Pct	16.79%	17.22%	14.78%	6.60%	55.38%	15.21%	13.77%	11.46%	4.16%	44.62%
HAFFORD										
Sum	48	70	43	83	244	52	54	54	122	282
Pct	9.13%	13.31%	8.17%	15.78%	46.39%	9.89%	10.27%	10.27%	23.19%	53.61%
KRYDOR										
Sum	4	7	6	16	33	5	6	7	19	37
Pct	5.71%	10.00%	8.57%	22.86%	47.14%	7.14%	8.57%	10.00%	27.14%	52.86%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1986 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	223	216	183	75	697
Pct	31.99%	30.99%	26.26%	10.76%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	100	124	97	205	526
Pct	19.01%	23.57%	18.44%	38.97%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	9	13	13	35	70
Pct	12.86%	18.57%	18.57%	50.00%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1976-1987

TABLE1-17

POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX 1987 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	MALES 0-19	MALES 20-44	MALES 45-64	MALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL MALES	FEMALES 0-19	FEMALES 20-44	FEMALES 45-64	FEMALES 65 PLUS	TOTAL FEMALES
REDBERRY RM										
Sum	116	124	100	44	384	105	93	83	27	308
Pct	16.76%	17.92%	14.45%	6.36%	55.49%	15.17%	13.44%	11.99%	3.90%	44.51%
HAFFORD										
Sum	66	72	47	77	262	58	56	53	121	288
Pct	10.37%	13.33%	8.70%	14.26%	48.67%	10.74%	10.37%	9.81%	22.41%	53.33%
KRYDOR										
Sum	2	4	6	11	23	1	3	5	15	24
Pct	4.26%	8.51%	12.77%	23.40%	48.94%	2.13%	6.38%	10.64%	31.91%	51.06%

POPULATION TOTALS BY AGE 1987 HAFFORD, KRYDOR, AND THE R.M. OF REDBERRY

LOCATION	POPULATION 0-19	POPULATION 20-44	POPULATION 45-64	POPULATION 65 PLUS	TOTAL POPULATION
REDBERRY RM					
Sum	221	217	183	71	892
Pct	31.94%	31.36%	26.45%	10.26%	
HAFFORD					
Sum	114	128	100	198	540
Pct	21.11%	23.70%	18.52%	36.67%	
KRYDOR					
Sum	3	7	11	26	47
Pct	6.38%	14.89%	23.40%	55.32%	

SOURCE: SHSP data tapes 1970-1987

TABLE1-18

PHASE III

BACKGROUND TO THE SURVEY

During the course of the field work for the Community Study the researcher team became aware of the planned 75th Anniversary study for the Town of Hafford to take place on the July, 1988 long weekend. In preparation for the celebration the Town Hall had prepared a list of ex-residents of Hafford to whom invitations to attend the event were mailed. The Town Hall kindly made this list available to the research team in order that a mail out survey of these ex-residents could be facilitated.

In total 1003 questionnaires were mailed out to a sample selected from the list using a systematic random sampling technique. Once the questionnaires began being returned, it became clear that the list obtained from the Town Hall included ex-residents of the entire R.M. as well as some ex-residents from the neighbouring R.M. of Blaine Lake. For this reason, a second mail out was sent to those persons claiming to have never lived in Hafford, and these were asked to indicate their initial residence and to kindly complete the questionnaire. In total 508 - 251 from the Town of Hafford and 256 from the Rural Municipality of Redberry (with 1 invalid response) - completed questionnaires were returned or a response rate of 54.8% of eligible respondents. Such a response rate is considered to be high for a mail out survey, particularly when conducted during the summer months when people are vacationing.

The questionnaire asked respondents for information pertaining to the length of time they lived in the area, their reasons for leaving, the difficulty in leaving, the attractiveness of living there, the unattractiveness

of living there, the nature of their employment when leaving, the nature of their employment after leaving, the nature of their current employment, their educational level, their perceptions about the viability of Hafford, their age when leaving and their eventual place of residence.

KEY FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY

- The majority of respondents, 59.8%, were under the age of 20 when moving from Hafford or Redberry. By way of comparison, 59.6% of the respondents are now over the age of 55.

- A large majority of 78.7% of the respondents were single when leaving Hafford or Redberry but only 18.6% are now single.

- 43.5% of respondents cited their primary reason for leaving Hafford or Redberry was to seek a better job, while another 33.6% also cited this as their secondary reason for leaving.

- 73.2% of respondents are still residing somewhere in the Province of Saskatchewan.

- A full 85.9% of respondents claimed that at the time of leaving Hafford or Redberry they had no plans whatever to return to the area while only 2.0% planned to eventually return.

- Of the respondents originally from Hafford, only 12.6% cited their occupation as farming when leaving while the figure for ex-residents of Redberry was 64.4%. Now, however, only 2.6% of ex-Hafford residents and 4.2% of ex-residents from the Rural Municipality of Redberry cite

their current occupation as farming, and in total only 10.7% of the sample currently live on a farm.

- Only 9.3% of the sample claimed that it was a difficult decision to move from the area, while the most frequent difficulties in moving that were cited by respondents were emotional in nature

- &5.3% of respondents felt that the Town of Hafford had at least some chance of surviving as a viable community.

A detailed discussion of the survey, the data which it generated and its implications will be found in chapter 4 of this report.

CHAPTER 2

CHANGES IN THE RURAL ELDERLY POPULATION AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE SMALL TOWN ECONOMY: The Case of Saskatchewan, 1971-1986

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and

BRIAN D. MACLEAN

INTRODUCTION

Like other midwestern agricultural states in the U.S., Saskatchewan, Canada has been experiencing rural depopulation in the post-war decades. For example, between 1961 and 1981, the rural population in Saskatchewan decreased 23 per cent from 527,090 to 405,147, but the farm population dropped 41 per cent from 304,672 to 160,255. In 1961, the rural population constituted 57 per cent of the population in the province, and the farm population 33 per cent. By 1981, the rural population is down to 42 per cent, and the farm population 19 per cent (Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics, 1980-85).

THE PROBLEM

Undoubtedly, the process of rural depopulation is related to the changing structure of agriculture in Canada, which is characterized by an increase in size, capitalization and mechanization of farms, and a decrease in the number of farm operators (Basran, 1979). Among the many consequences of rural depopulation is its effects on the small town economy. Research in this area appears to support the "central place theory" which argues, in essence, that in the process of population change, a hierarchy of places, in terms of population size and range of services, emerges. In such a hierarchy, few larger centres grow faster in population and scope of services at the expense of smaller places (Fuguitt and Deeley, 1966; Johansen and Fuguitt, 1973). More recently, Stabler (1988) has analysed data on Saskatchewan which confirm that between 1961 and 1981, communities which retained their status in the functional

hierarchy, that is, the hierarchy which measures the range of services offered by each community, had a mean population above the group average, while communities which lost their status had a mean population below the average.

In the process of population shift and service centralization, a number of demographic and ecological variables has been identified as accounting for the growth and decline of the small town economy. The population size and the population change of rural communities are generally held to be positively, albeit only moderately, related to the range of services and retail sales of small towns[2] (Fuguitt and Deeley, 1966). In addition, urban accessibility (Harden, 1960; Johansen and Fuguitt, 1979) is found to influence small town retailing as rural shoppers living closer to urban areas are drawn to the urban market. More recently, Johnson (1982) has demonstrated that the income level of rural dwellers has a net effect, independent of population changes, on small town retail sales.

While the literature has extensively discussed the effects of population shifts on the small town economy, it has not paid sufficient attention to the changing age composition in rural areas and its effects on local services and retail trade. One of the changes in the age structure in rural Saskatchewan in recent years is the increase in concentration of the elderly population in small towns. This concentration appears to have been produced by two forces: the migration of people to urban centres and the corresponding decline in fertility in rural areas; and the retirement of elderly farmers in small towns and villages.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the process of change in the elderly population in rural Saskatchewan between 1971 and 1986, and to assess its effects on services and retail sales in small towns.

SOURCES OF DATA AND PROCEDURES

The population data were provided by the Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan (SHSP), which is a publicly funded medical care program that covers every resident of the province. The SHSP data are actual counts of the covered population by year. In the data file that was supplied to us, the population by gender and age groups of each city, town, village and rural municipality for 1971-86 was provided.

A second source of data comes from information of towns and villages for 1986, gathered by the Saskatchewan Department of Tourism and Small Business in 1987. The Department relied upon self-reported information by officials of towns and villages to compile its data file. For 1986, of the 506 cities, towns and villages in Saskatchewan, 173 (34 per cent) had no information provided. Of the 333 communities with data, 14 had incomplete population data from SHSP, bringing the working sample to 319. Since the study is concerned with the small town economy, cities and towns 5,000 or more were excluded from the analysis, thus reducing further the working sample to 304 towns and villages of population less than 5,000.[3]

The major variables used in the analysis include the following:

X_1 - Population of town or village, 1971.

X_2 - Change in the population 65 and over for each town or village, as measured by the difference in the number of people 65 and over between 1971 and 1986.

X_3 - The distance of each town or village to the next nearest city with a population over 5,000. This is a three point scale: (1) less than 50 kilometers; (2) 50 to 100 kilometers; and (3) over 100 kilometers.

X_4 - The average 10 year grain delivery, in thousand tonnes, of each town or village.

X_5 - Diversity of services of each town or village. This is an index that measures the number of services or functions available in each community. A town or village receives a score of 1, for each of the following available services to a maximum of 29: grain elevator, retail trade shop, auto-sales service shop, trade-repair shop, farm machine shop, other business outlet, hotel, bank, credit union, trust firm, law office, insurance office, real estate office, accounting office, police, bus line, railroad line, local trucking, local newspaper, Protestant church, other churches, voluntary organization, elementary school, high school, doctor, dentist, hospital, and special home.

X_6 - Total volume of retail sale in 1986, in thousand dollars.

First, we examine the magnitude of change in the elderly population in rural Saskatchewan between 1971 and 1986. Second, we construct a path model to describe the process of change in the elderly population and how it affects the range of services and retail sales in small towns, taking into account urban accessibility and the economic condition of local communities.

DEPOPULATION AND CHANGING AGE STRUCTURE IN RURAL SASKATCHEWAN, 1971-86

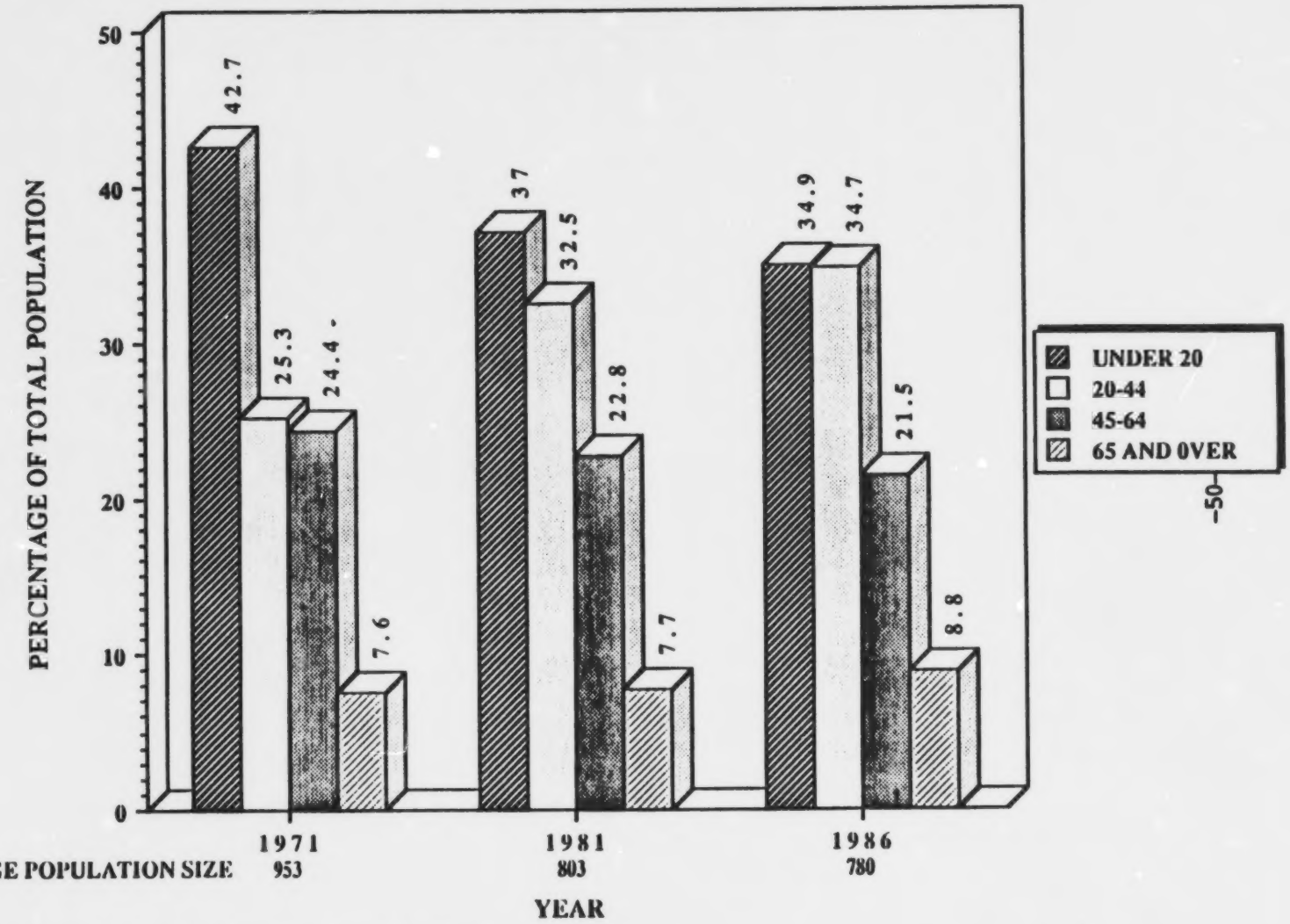
The overall population of Saskatchewan for the period between 1961 and 1986 has been steady at a level slightly below 1

million, despite the trend of urbanization and rural depopulation (Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics, 1987: 11). This trend is evident in the percentage distribution of population by residence. For example, the population residing in cities (over 5,000) was about 39 per cent in the late sixties, which increased to 45 per cent by the late seventies, and to about 50 per cent by 1986. In contrast, the population residing in rural municipalities (mostly farming areas) dropped from 30 per cent in the late sixties to about 21 per cent in 1986, while the population in towns and villages (less than 5,000) was maintained around 24 to 26 per cent of the provincial population (Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics, 1982, 1987).

Corresponding with the shift of population from farming to urban regions is the change in the age structure, especially in the rural areas. Figures 1 and 2 show the uneven process of population change in rural municipalities and towns and villages in Saskatchewan in the past 15 years. The data show that the average size of rural municipalities has declined from 953 in 1971 to 780 in 1986, while the average size of towns and villages has increased slightly from 560 in 1971 to 617 in 1986. At the same time, towns and villages experienced an upsurge in the proportion of the elderly population, which increased from 15.9 per cent in 1971 to 21.3 per cent in 1986.

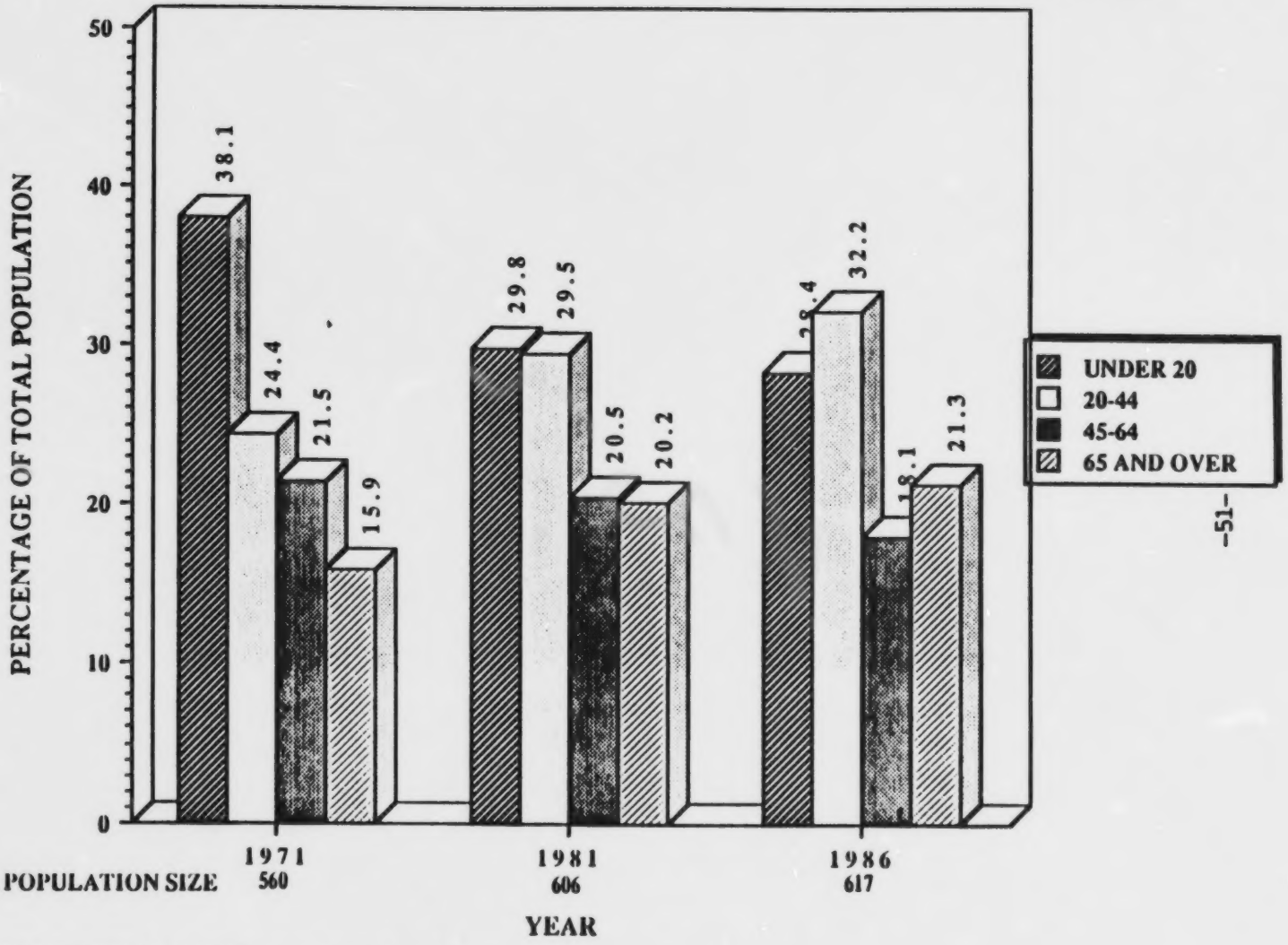
During the same period, the elderly population in the province only increased from 10 per cent to 12.4 per cent (Saskatchewan Bureau of Statistics, 1982, 1987).

FIGURE 2-1: AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION AND AGE STRUCTURE FOR RURAL MUNICIPALITIES IN SASKATCHEWAN 1971-1986*



*SOURCE: Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, annual covered population

FIGURE 2-2: AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION AND AGE STRUCUTRE FOR TOWNS AND VILLAGES LESS THAN 5000 PEOPLE IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1971-1986*



*SOURCE: Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, annual covered population

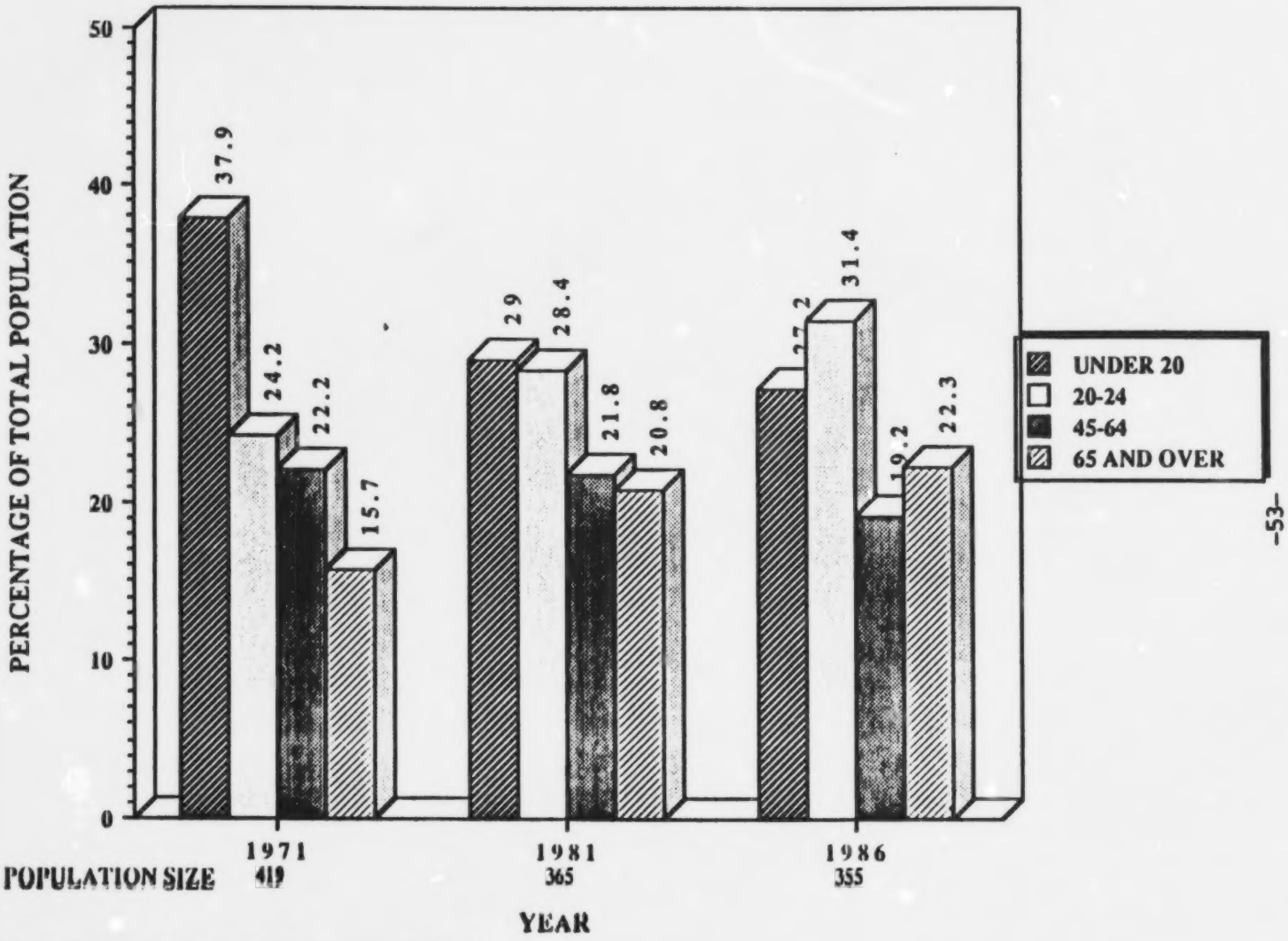
Figures 1 and 2 also show that since the percentage of the elderly increased and the percentage of those under 20 decreased in the past 15 years, towns and villages are aging at a faster rate than rural municipalities. These statistics suggest that many small towns and villages serve as retirement centres for town residents and those in surrounding rural areas. They also explain why despite a loss of functions of many small communities as noted by Stabler (1988), towns and villages on the average gained population between 1971 and 1986 (Figure 2).

POPULATION CHANGE OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES, 1971-1986

Using the population figures of 1971 and 1986, towns and villages were classified into two groups: those losing population, and those gaining or maintaining population. Figures 3 and 4 show that among the 304 towns and villages in Saskatchewan, 161 (53%) had an average population loss from 419 in 1971 to 355 in 1986; while 143 (47%) had an average gain from 718 in 1971 to 911 in 1986. In short, towns and villages which gained people had a population base in 1971 that was 1.7 times that of those losing people. These figures confirm the part of the central place theory which suggests that larger centres can better maintain their population bases relative to smaller places.

Except for population size, towns and villages gaining or losing population shared a striking similarity in their age distributions over the 1971-86 period. The noted exception is that towns and villages losing people gained slightly more, in percentage terms, elderly population between 1971 and 1986.

FIGURE 2-3: AGE STRUCTURE FOR TOWNS AND VILLAGES LOSING POPULATION IN RURAL SASKATCHEWAN, 1971-1986*

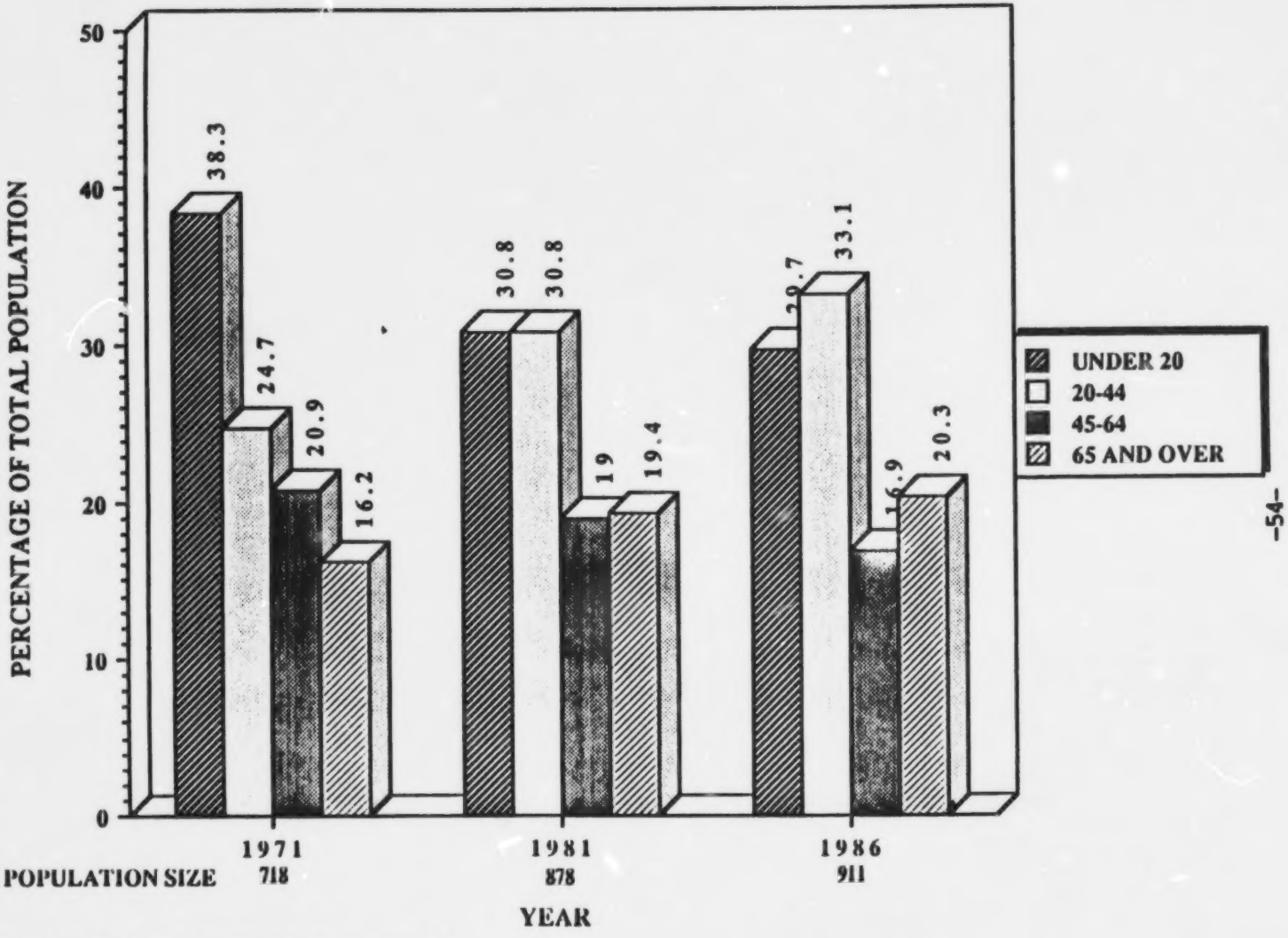


AVERAGE POPULATION SIZE
N=161

1971: 419
1981: 365
1986: 355

*SOURCE: Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, annual covered population

FIGURE 2-4: AGE STRUCTURE FOR TOWNS AND VILLAGES GAINING POPULATION IN RURAL SASKATCHEWAN, 1971-1986*



*SOURCE: Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, annual covered population

TABLE 1-1: MEAN DIFFERENCES IN DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN TOWNS AND VILLAGES GAINING OR LOSING POPULATION BETWEEN 1971 AND 1986 IN RURAL SASKATCHEWAN*

	TOWNS AND VILLAGES		
	LOSING POPULATION	GAINING POPULATION	t
Number of Towns and Villages (N)	**163**	**143**	
Demographic Characteristics:			
Population, 1986	356	911	7.61**
Population, 1981	365	878	3.68**
Population, 1971	419	718	4.75**
Total Population Change, 1971-1986	-63	+193	10.30**
65 plus Population Change, 1971-1986	+18	+70	7.58**
Under 20 Population Change, 1971-1986	-64	-8	4.74**
Economic Characteristics:			
Diversity of Services	15.9	19.3	5.48**
Number of Shops and Businesses	22.9	46.0	5.68**
Total Retail Sale ($000)	1588	4309	4.41**
New Home Price ($000)	44	59	4.94**
Number of Construction Permits	4.5	10.7	4.96**
!0 yr Average Grain Delivery (000 tonnes)	22.8	25.2	1.42

**p=0.05

* SOURCE: Saskatchewan Health Services Plan, annual covered population.
Community Profile, Saskatchewan Department of Tourism and Small Business, 1987.

Table 1 provides the mean differences in demographic and economic characteristics between towns and villages gaining and losing population. The data show that the average loss was 63; and the average gain was 193. However, when the change of the elderly population is taken into account, it becomes clear that 36 per cent (70/193) of the population gain for growing towns and villages came from the increase in the population 65 and over. Even among towns and villages losing population, there was an average increase of 18 elderly people. In other words, the average loss would have been larger for these places had it not been for the increase in the elderly population, which partially compensated for the population loss.

Table 1 also shows that towns and villages which gained population were more prosperous in their economic activities, aside from being larger. The average total retail sale in 1986 was $4.3 million, about 2.7 times larger than that of towns and villages experiencing a population loss. The growing towns and villages also had a wider range of services and a larger number of shops. These statistics suggest that larger communities tend to offer more services, which in turn further attract more people. Consequently, more elderly people in particular, seem to have been drawn into larger towns and villages.

THE ELDERLY POPULATION AND THE SMALL TOWN ECONOMY

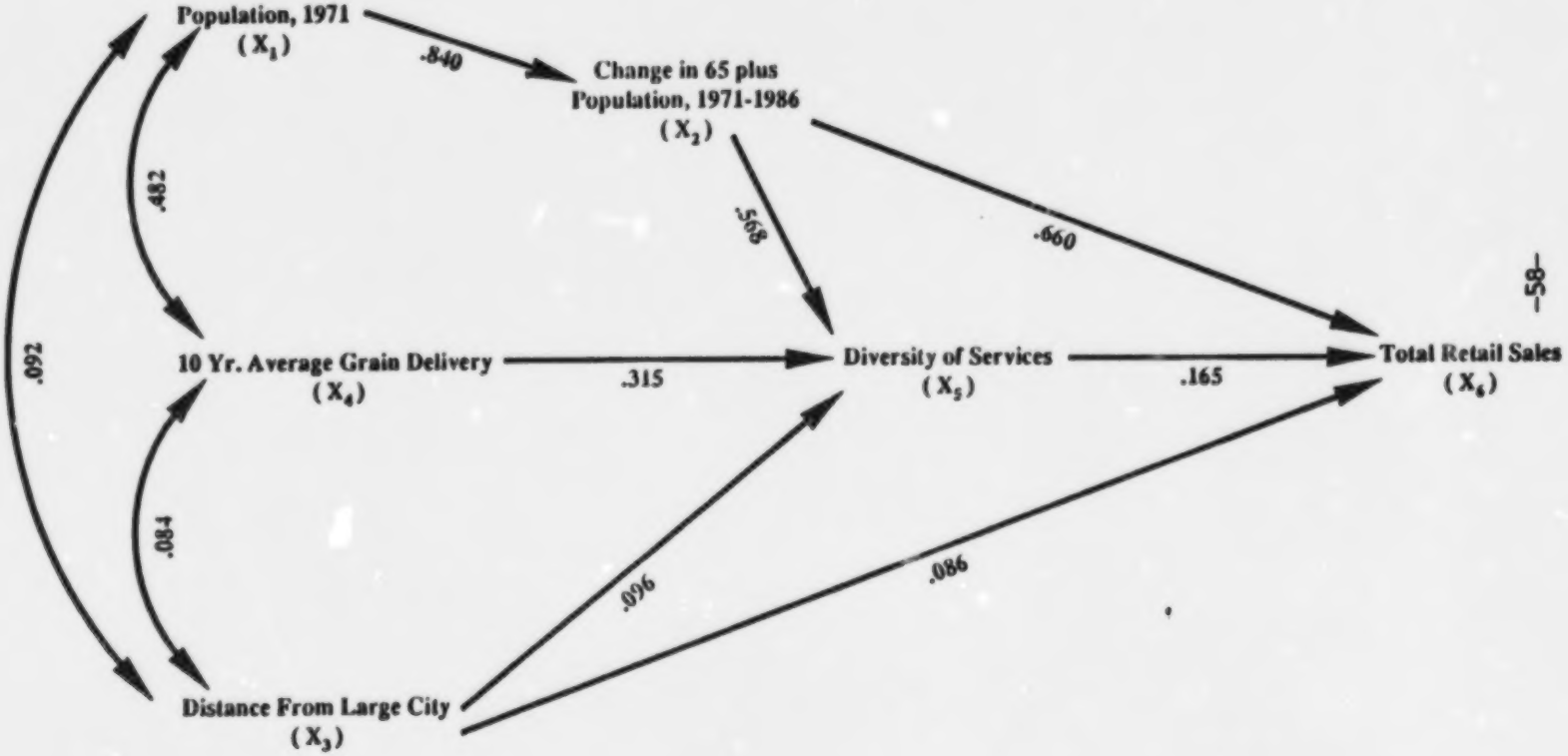
On the basis of the above findings, it is possible to postulate a number of relationships pertaining to changes in the elderly population. It would appear that the magnitude of gain or loss of the elderly population in each town or village is

mainly dependent upon whether the town or village had a large enough population base to begin with. Obviously, the larger the population base, the more people would grow older in time. But the larger population centres also tend to attract elderly people from surrounding areas as places of retirement. In turn, the larger the increase in the elderly population, the greater would be the demand on services offered by the community, and the larger would be the retail sales, thus further stimulating the small town economy. This is because aside from increasing the population base, elderly people are more likely to patronize local services and businesses, as they tend to be less mobile than younger people who can commute to urban centres for shopping.

In addition to the effects of population change on the small town economy, the literature has suggested that urban centres often compete with small towns for business. Hence, proximity to urban centres tends to hamper the growth and development of small town businesses (Harden, 1960; Johansen and Fuguitt, 1979). More recently, Johnson (1982) suggests that as the income level of each community increases, so would its retail sales. For this study, in the absence of income data for each community, we use the average grain delivery for the past ten years as a surrogate measure of the economic robustness of each town and village, as the income of rural Saskatchewan residents is strongly related to grain production.

The postulated relationships between population changes and the town economy are tested in a path model (Figure 5).

FIGURE 2-5: THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THE ELDERLY POPULATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON TOWN SERVICES AND RURAL RETAIL SALES



The bivariate correlations of all the variables in the model are given in Table 2.

Table 2 indicates that the change in the elderly population 65 and over (X_2) of each town or village is strongly associated with its population size in 1971 (r_{21}=.840), confirming that larger communities are more capable of attracting and retaining elderly people. Table 2 also shows that the larger the gain in the elderly population, the more diverse are the local services (r_{52}=.701), and the greater the retail sales (r_{62}=.779). Population changes in other age groups, however, produce a much weaker impact on the local economy.[4] The fact that the gain or loss in the elderly population, but not other age groups, exerts a strong effect on local services and retailing tends to support the argument that the elderly residents patronize local services and businesses more than younger ones.

Table 2 also confirms that towns and villages which are further away from a large city have a wider range of local services and larger retail sales, although the relationships are rather weak (r_{53}=.145; r_{63}=.136). In contrast, the volume of average ten year grain delivery has a much stronger influence on local services and retail sale (X_{54}=.555; X_{64}=.400).

The relationships of the variables in Figure 5 can be summarized by the following structural equations:

$$X_2 = p_{21}X_1$$

$$X_5 = p_{52}X_2 + p_{54}X_4 + p_{53}X_3$$

$$X_6 = p_{62}X_2 + p_{65}X_5 + p_{63}X_3$$

TABLE 2-2: BIVARIATE CORRELATIONS AMONG DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC VARIABLES FOR TOWNS AND VILLAGES IN RURAL SASKATCHEWAN (N=304)*

		X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6
Population, 1971	X_1	...	.840	.092	.482	.732	.796
Change in Population 65 plus 1971-1986	X_2		...	.039	.409	.701	.779
Distance From Large City**	X_3			...	.084	.145	.136
Average 10 yr. Grain Delivery (000 Tonnes)	X_4				...	.555	.400
Diversity of Services***	X_5					...	.640
Total Retail Sales ($000)	X_6						...
MEAN		660	42	2.0	23.9	17.5	2868
S D		567	64	0.7	14.6	5.7	5537

*** Number of social, economic, medical and educational services available in each town or village

** (1)=Less than 50 km..; (2)=50-100 km.; (3)=Over 100 km.

* SOURCE: Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, annual covered population.
Community Profile, Saskatchewan Department of Tourism and Small Business, 1987.

TABLE 2-3: PATH (STANDARDIZED) COEFFICIENTS AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR PATH MODEL

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables					
	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	R^2
X_2	.840 (.031)	...	...	...	...	.705
X_5	...	.568 (.051)	.096 (.037)	.315 (.041)	...	.587
X_6	...	.660 (.049)	.086 (.036)	...	.165 (.050)	.631

NOTE: Numbers in parentheses are the standard errors of the beta coefficients
All coefficients are statistically significant at 0.05 level.

SOURCE: Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, annual covered population.
Community Profile, Saskatchewan Department of Tourism and Small Business, 1987.

where p_{ij} is the path or standardized coefficient between variable X_i and X_j. The coefficients for the structural equations in the path model are given in Table 3.

Figure 5 shows that variations in total retail sales are influenced by three variables:

1. The change in the 65+ population;
2. The diversity of services; and
3 The distance from the nearest large city.

These three variables together account for 63 per cent of the variations in retail sales among towns and villages. But the strongest effect (p_{62}=.660) comes from the variable measuring the "change in the 65+ population" (Table 3). Figure 5 also shows that the diversity of services in towns and villages is determined by:

1. The change in 65+ population;
2. 10 year average grain delivery; and
3. The distance from the nearest large city,

which together account for 59 per cent of the variation. As before, the change in the 65+ population exerts the largest effect on the diversity of services (p_{52}=.568), although the variable "10 year average grain delivery" also shows a strong impact on local services (p_{54}=.315). This relationship clearly indicates that the agricultural economic condition of the area has a strong influence that is independent of the effect of the change in the elderly population on the functional diversity of each town. Figure 5 also suggests that the change in the 65+

population can be explained by the population size of 1971 which alone accounts for 71 per cent of the variation.[5]

CONCLUSIONS

Our study shows that one of the components of rural depopulation in Saskatchewan is the shift in the elderly population, which has resulted in a growing percentage of people 65 and over in small towns and villages in the past 15 years. In 1986, the elderly people constituted 21.3 per cent of the population in towns and villages, whereas provincially they made up only 12.4 per cent. The increase in the rural elderly population is one of the factors which contributes to the growth of some towns and villages. Their increase in smaller communities also helps to slow down the process of population decline in these places.

Towns and villages do not have the same capacity to attract the elderly people for retirement. In the process of the shift of the elderly population, places with a larger population base are more likely to draw and to retain more elderly people over time. This relationship is consistent with the central place theory which suggests, among other things, that larger places grow faster in their functional diversity and population size. These findings probably suggest that elderly people are more likely to retire in relatively larger communities which offer a wider range of services than smaller places. In doing so, larger communities increase their clienteles further, thus enabling them to continue to expand their range of services and retail sale. In this respect, the trend of the rural elderly population

retiring in towns and villages helps to stimulate the service and retail economy of these places. With economic growth, larger towns and villages are able to attract more people to the local work force.

Our analysis indicates that the diversity of services and the volume of retail sales of towns and villages are largely dependent upon the growth in the elderly population. Since the change in other age groups does not produce the same effect, it would appear that the elderly residents tend to make greater use of local services and businesses than people of other age groups. This relationship further supports the argument that elderly people stimulate the small town economy by contributing to the population growth and by creating higher demand for local services.

Our study also finds that the distance from a large city and the general economy of the area, as measured by the 10 year average grain yield, affect the range of services offered in each town or village. These effects are independent of the influence of the change in the elderly population. The average general economy over a ten year period, however, does not seem to have any significant effect on retail sales when the change of the elderly population, the diversity of town services, and the distance from the large city are taken into account. As the literature suggests, the distance from a large city inversely affects the development of local businesses. Our data indicate that towns and villages that are further away from the city are able to offer a wider range of services and have higher retail

sales, although these relationships are relatively weak in conjunction with other variables.

Theoretically, our study suggests that the process of rural depopulation involves a concomitant change in the age structure, as the rural elderly people tend to move to towns and villages for retirement, and younger people tend to migrate to larger urban centres for the job market. In this process of change, the elderly population help to sustain and to stimulate the small town economy. It would appear that the ability of the small towns in Saskatchewan to maintain their services and retail business depends on the future growth of the elderly population. If the future should see a decline in the elderly population in towns and villages in Saskatchewan, it would probably mean the demise of the small town economy.

FOOTNOTES

1. The findings of this paper are based on a research project, "Rural Depopulation and the Saskatchewan Economy", funded by Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy, Health and Welfare Canada. Population data were supplied by the Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan, and community data were compiled from statistics collected by Saskatchewan Department of Tourism and Small Business. Responsibility for use and interpretation of these data remains that of the authors who wish to thank Glenn Andre and Trina Vicq for their assistance in the project.
2. Using data on Wisconsin for 1950-60, Fuguitt and Deeley (1966: 61) found that the correlation of a "service scale" with population change was 0.16; and that of size of place and the service scale was 0.68.
3. In 1986, Saskatchewan had 9 cities over 10,000 people; and 6 cities between 5,000 and 10,000 people.
4. The respective correlations of population changes in other age groups with "diversity of services" and "total retail sales" are: change in population under 20 (-.257; -.304); change in population 20-44 (.335; .331); and change in population 45-64 (.058; .157).
5. The effects of the variables "10 year average grain delivery" and "distance from large city" on "the change in the 65+ population", as measured by the beta coefficients, are, when added to the equation, statistically insignificant. Hence these two variables are not included in the equation.

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CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY STUDY: The Town of Hafford and Rural Municipality of Redberry

A.B. ANDERSON

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Case Study

As this project indicates, despite limited population growth and economic expansion in the Province of Saskatchewan as a whole, many small communities in Saskatchewan have been experiencing a decline both in population and in economic activities, to the point where the survival of those communities is being seriously threatened, at present or will be in the very near future. Many factors may contribute to the demographic and economic viability or decline of prairie towns and villages, including changing agricultural technology, increasing physical and social mobility, changing age structure of the population, and the growth of a metropolitan economy. In order to discern the factors affecting, or resulting from, the decline or viability of these communities, and to better comprehend and evaluate the complex interrelationship between these factors, within the project we have focussed on a particular rural municipality, inclusive of a small town and a village, for detailed analysis.

The Rural Municipality of Redberry (No. 435) seemed to best suit our research for a "typical" case. This rural municipality has a fairly central location: the town at its centre is 93 kilometers northwest of Saskatoon by road (via Radisson) or 115 kilometers southwest of Prince Albert. The population of the R.M. (692 in 1987) has consistently declined, although this particular R.M. has a significant proportion of good farmland, and an agricultural economy based primarily on grain farming. The R.M. is central on a small town, Hafford (pop. 540 in 1987), which has a fairly diverse range of businesses yet essentially a static population trend concomitant with a rapidly changing age

structure. The R.M. also contains a small village, Krydor (pop. 47 in 1987), which has virtually no commerce or services and has a rapidly declining population consisting mostly of older-aged residents.

1.2 Data Sources

A research assistant was employed during the first several months of 1988 to obtain detailed information on Hafford and the surrounding rural municipality. We wee fortunate to obtain the services of a graduate student in sociology at the University of Saskatchewan who was herself a long-term resident of the R.M.

Primary Sources:

In order to delve into the attitudes of local residents to various changes, in-depth interviews were conducted with four types of residents, and three respondents were interviewed within each of these types: elderly, youth, farm/rural (an affluent farmer, a less affluent farmer and a rural serviceman), and "key influentials" in town (the mayor, a teacher, and a local businessman). The extensive commentaries resulting from these twelve interviews were taped and transcribed in full, then edited to locate important points which could be used to illustrate and supplement findings throughout the case study.

Other primary data obtained in the community study included detailed data on general and child mortality, obtained through analysis of all community and rural graveyards within the R.M.; data on the turnover and durability of town businesses, obtained through interviews with store owners as well as through examination of business records; and information on town social structure and activities, obtained from local

residents.

In order to obtain information on farmer residents who had left Hafford and area, i.e. on out-migration, a survey of former residents (N=507) was conducted; one pertinent finding was the determination of age at which former residents left the community.

Much information on trends in physical and social mobility, and on implications of the ethnic composition of the population in the area, was obtained in earlier studies of one of the research team (Anderson), based on interviews conducted in the area (among other areas) in 1968-70. These data served to enhance the longitudinal perspective of certain aspects of our present study.

Secondary Sources:

Secondary sources used in the community study were numerous and diverse. They included:

- Histories of Hafford produced in 1955 and 1963, and of Krydor in 1955.
- Demographic data from the Saskatchewan Health Services Plan, Census of Canada, Saskatchewan Dept. of Municipal Affairs, and other sources.
- School records.
- Ukrainian Orthodox, Ukrainian Catholic, and Roman Catholic church records.
- Town Council minutes and financial statements.
- R.M. of Redberry minutes, financial records, and other documents in R.M. files, e.g. bylaws, committee reports, municipal plans, cemetery records, assessment and tax rolls, voters lists, and many other sorts of data.
- Occasional reports, e.g.:

Land Use Survey, R.M. of Redberry No. 435, 1934

Hafford Future Land Use Study, 1981

Redberry Lake Opportunity Study, Saskatchewan Tourism and Small Business, 1984

Saskatchewan Tourism and Small Business Community Profile (annual)

- Newspaper clipping files

All together, these diverse primary and secondary data sources produced a large amount of information on Hafford, Krydor, and Redberry R.M., which has been carefully sorted and integrated to result in an informative and penetrating community case study.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 The Development of Ethnic Settlement

The original pioneer settlers of the Hafford-Redberry area were mostly Anglo-Canadians, Ukrainians and Polish, and French. The Anglo-Canadians (Anglicans and Methodists) concentrated in the rural districts immediately north of Hafford (Whiteberry, Craigmore, Lanley, Keatley, Springbourne) and predominated in the neighbouring villages to the west (Richard and Speers), beyond the R.M. boundary. Shortly after the turn of the century, though, they became surrounded by large numbers of Ukrainian and Polish immigrants, while at the same time French settlers were moving down towards Hafford from the north and east. Eventually the Methodist church in Hafford was removed to Richard and the Anglican church was closed.

Ukrainian-Polish Settlement:

A large Ukrainian and Polish settlement began to develop around Redberry Lake, several miles east of Hafford, in 1904 when settlers migrated westward to this region from the earlier Fish Creek colony, initially established in 1897 in the area between Rosthern and Wakaw. Historical records show their apparent displeasure over conditions in this earlier settlement and over the government's failure to assist them (Kayr, 1964). The rural districts around Redberry Lake were settled within only a couple of years (1904-06). The Fish Creek migrants were soon joined by Ukrainian and Polish immigrants directly from the Ukraine. (For example, at Hafford in 1917 there were 102 Ukrainians and four Poles originally from Galicia, as well as four Ukrainians from Russia. Of the twenty-six men who had immigrated directly from the

Ukraine to Hafford, six had spent a year or less in Canada, seventeen from two to five years, three more than five years. Another twenty-seven men were not direct immigrants to the community and had lived in Canada for over ten years). The settlement continued to expand rapidly; within a decade it had spread not only throughout the Redberry R.M. but also well beyond into neighbouring several municipalities. Onion-domed Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches dotted the landscape, contrasting periodically with the steeples of Polish Catholic churches. Ukrainian Catholics, Orthodox, and Polish Catholics mixed in Hafford and Krydor. Ukrainian Catholics concentrated in the rural districts of Ukrainian/Kolo Parchomy, Orolow, Krasne, Welechko, Sich, Alberton, Galician Lake, Bohdan, Krivoisheim, Zaporozhe, Zbaraz, and eventually spread westward to Speers, Richard, Alticane, and Whitkow. Ukrainian Orthodox were mainly concentrated in two areas, the Nauka, Zipchen, Pysklyvitz, Slawa, and Rus districts just south of Hafford, and Whitkow and outlying Zoria, Redfield, and Proswita districts some fifty kilometers by road northwest of Hafford. Polish Catholics settled particularly in the Orolow, Ukrainia, Alberton, and Kleczkowski districts. Before long increasing numbers of Ukrainians were moving eastward, penetrating the large Russian Doukhobor colony centered on the town of Blaine Lake, established in 1899; Ukrainian immigrants from Kiev as well as from Siberia settled in this town as early as 1905, and "Russian" Baptists immigrated from the village of Boridianko near Kiev a couple of years later. But most of the Doukhobor colony lay beyond the eastern boundary of Redberry R.M.; only the Haralowka district was within Redberry R.M. So a vast region had acquired, within only a couple of decades, a decidedly Slavic character. At its apogee the

Ukrainian-Polish settlement included more than five thousand people of Ukrainian and Polish origin, and the adjacent Doukhobor colony to the east added another thousand people of Russian origin.

French Settlement

It would be wrong to assume that the Redberry region had become completely Slavic. While Ukrainians and Poles were rapidly developing their settlement, settlers of French origin were moving westward across the northernmost districts of the R.M., then southward from Gordon Lake down towards a Hafford. In a neighbouring rural municipality to the northeast, the first French-origin pioneer, Antoine Marcelin, had arrived from a French settlement in North Dakota as early as 1889, and had been instrumental in attracting francophone immigrants to the village of Marcelin by 1902. Breton immigrants were eventually joined by immigrants from other regions of France as well as by French Canadians from Quebec and French from earlier settlements in Saskatchewan and the United States. The French settlement in the general region was quite dispersed; in most localities the French settlers were interspersed with settlers of diverse other origins. Within Redberry R.M. most were concentrated in the Lac Casavant, Oscar Lake, and Alberton-Bear Lake districts, along the northern fringe, and in the Canada, Springbourne, Langley, and Whiteberry districts just north of Hafford. French families mixed with Polish Catholics in the parishes of St. Jean Baptiste/St. Joseph's (Alberton-Bear Lake), St. Solange (Hafford), and St. Michel/St. Michael's (Krydor). The largely French Alberton School District, named after pioneer settler Albert Fundelct, was organized in 1912; both the school building and the church

were constructed by a local craftsman from Marcelin. The Roman Catholic church in Hafford had been moved into town from the Whiteberry district in 1912, and a new church was constructed by French settlers five years later; the first priest, Rev. Fr. Lajeunesse, came from the Aldina district west of Marcelin - he was succeeded by a long lineage of French parish priests. In Hafford French pioneer settlers included A. Lafreniere, one of the first merchants and a number of the first village council, T.G. Bavia, first secretary-treasurer of the village, and E.W. Bavia, also a member of the first council. The French population of the entire Marcelin and Coteau settlement may have exceeded a thousand, only a small portion of whom (less than two hundred) resided within Hafford and Redberry R.M.

2.2 The Development of Hafford and Redberry Rural Municipality

A network of country school districts developed rapidly between 1906 and 1918. In 1908 the Local Improvement District became the Rural Municipality of Redberry, No. 435. In 1913 the Hafford Grain Growers Cooperative Association Ltd. came into existence as an early experiment in cooperativism; eventually it operated a bulk and filling station, also a hardware store. By now Hafford had its first shops, one restaurant, and a bank operated by the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce (until 1947, when it was moved to a neighbouring village). Hafford was incorporated as a village Dec. 16, 1918; the first meeting of the village council was held Jan. 19, 1914. The Hafford School Board was founded in Feb. 1914. In 1916 plays and dances were being staged in a poolroom, soon replaced by a cultural centre. In 1917 the village acquired telephone service operated by the Hafford Rural Telephone Co.

Although a variety of country churches had already been built throughout the rural municipality, it was not until 1917 that both permanent Ukrainian Catholic and Roman Catholic churches were built in town (the former was preceded by a mission, the latter by a country church moved into town - then sold to the Methodists). The following year an Anglican church was built (preceded by a mission in 1911). Hafford acquired electricity in 1918. In 1922 a hospital was constructed on land owned by the Methodist Mission (it was closed in 1940, then reopened in 1946 as a union hospital shared by Hafford, two neighbouring villages, the nearby town of Blaine Lake, and four rural municipalities, with the province contributing the funding). By 1926 Hafford had a population of 280, Krydor 119. In 1927 a chapter of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada was established in Hafford, as were chapters of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association in 1929, Ukrainian Catholic Youth in 1935, Homemakers' Club in 1936, Roman Catholic Women's League and Ukrainian Greek Catholic Women's League in 1945. In 1932 the Dominion Government Illustration Station began operation on the Hudek farm near Hafford; this was an experimental farm advocating diversification in agriculture during the "dirty thirties" period of devastating drought and financial depression. A permanent Ukrainian Orthodox church was not built in Hafford until 1936 (although it was preceded by a mission in 1909 and the founding of the Ukrainian Orthodox Community in 1925). Although the CBIC bank branch in Hafford closed in 1947, in 1944 the Redberry Savings and Credit Union had been established. In 1948 a new cultural centre was erected, and in 1960 the Saskatchewan Music Festival Association came into being in Hafford to promote music. A modernized sewer and water system was installed in

1962; both this and a covered arena and hockey rink were officially inaugurated June 29, 1963. A proposal for a Redberry Lake Regional Park was initially made in 1964, and for an expanded park in 1975. Both the New Horizon Centre (a senior citizens' home) and the Lakeland Regional Library came into existence in 1972. A new arena complex was constructed in 1974. The Village of Hafford was upgraded into the Town of Hafford in 1980.

2.3 Community and Rural Life in the "Good Old Days"

Most of the respondents interviewed in depth had vivid impressions of life in the "good old days". In general, they reflected that life was hard, however in many ways had a better quality than life in the community and surrounding rural region today.

First let us quote some of the memories of the three elderly residents interviewed. One, a Polish Catholic immigrant woman originally from the Sich district eight miles north of Krydor, remembered the difficulties and discrimination an immigrant child faced in school:

> We walked three or four miles to school, a very long walk ... You're overtired ... That's why I couldn't make grades. None of my children have had a hard time in school, but I think, coming from another country I'm combining here, not knowing the language and being very young. The Children don't mix with you and you're not very happy in school. You're frightened and just can't study. [The teacher] was rude. If you spoke any Ukrainian word or Polish, because I speak both languages, you were given such a treatment. [The teacher] used the strap a lot. I was just so frightened. They didn't understand me. ...

She felt that:

> ... at that time the community was more - how would I say - more helpful than now. Like we are too

> independent now. At that time people shared their hardships, their happiness. Like if anybody was sick or anybody needed something the neighbours helped each other. Or they ... I remember when we were going to town and picking up mail, about, one farmer was going to go to Krydor and he picked about ten farmers' mail in one bundle.
>
> ... Sundays, when I was growing up and mom would take us to the next neighbour. We'd all go to one house and each one was bringing something because none of us had too much food. Not like now. But everybody brought a little bit.
>
> One family had fourteen children and I was a teenager. She would just tell me go and work there because she needs help. And I used to just go and help here. Sometimes they'd give me fifty cents and sometimes they wouldn't give me nothing. You know, but that's the way it was, because nobody had money. And I find that very different now. Like I told you here, I've asked people to come visit, well they don't.

According to this informant, medical remedies were home-grown and professional attention not easy to come by:

> [Not everyone] could afford medicare. I remember my mother had had twins. And then we lost one of them in nineteen months. But she couldn't get out of bed. that's why I quit school. I was only fifteen when I quit school and she couldn't afford [medicare] so [the doctor] told her regardless why she didn't come in. And she said I didn't have any money.
>
> You know when you have a cold they used to make chicken soup. And a lot of hot bath - it was like a steam bath to release your croup. Liniment was very common to rub your chest ... I think they used a lot of herbs. Mint was always dried for drinking. And wild strawberries was for your stomach too.
>
> Oh, I didn't know, for diarrhea or something. And mustard plaster was very common. Baking soda was a lot used for baths; if it was a rash instead of putting soap they would apply soda and for insect bites soda was applied a lot. And I remember as soon as the spring would come they would just look for some greens that you could cook. And it would be pig weed for spinach.

Another elderly respondent was a Ukrainian Catholic storekeeper

originally from the Krasne district. He similarly agreed that neighbourliness had declined since the "old days":

> [Life then was] much better and much worse - harder and more work, but we were much closer and more neighbourly. But this could be because of a different, modern standard of living ... you know, everyone is so busy trying to get by and pay for their things that time goes by and you don't get to enjoy life.
>
> [There were] many farm hardships but we tried hard to go on. Hard work and ambition kept us going. Usually parties centered around homes mainly. there were many home parties that happened by meeting to plan schools, churches etc. Not like today with running off to cities to shop and drink and so on. At that time, oh, about 1935, barn and granary dances were popular and no one missed one. Young people and old - everybody went. usually you went with your family after supper and stayed all night long.
>
> Community entertainment for us was Welechko Hall five miles away. There were picnic grounds and ball diamonds there too for sports days and a hall for dances and concerts.
>
> At one of these dances I met Olga - a neighbour girl. I liked her company and we became friends. We went to many dances together. And a fellow could treat a young lady for next to nothing. With $1.50 I got to go to the dance with her, buy lunch and keep some change for the next dance. Those were the days!
>
> I had no car and had to walk to her house all the time. It was hard on my feet so I made her my wife. We were married in the Ukrainian Church in Hafford.
>
> It was different then when young people got married. We had nothing. Not like today when you have a house, car, furniture, you know, right away. We lived with my parents, for the first year. Then I got a job at the General Store for $10 a month! This way we could rent our own "home". It was one bedroom for $3.50 a month. We bought a washboard, a boiler, coffee, tea and bread and my pay was gone. We got other food from our parent's homes - they farmed and gardened so there was always more than enough.
>
> I guess you could say we got lucky that the chance to have our own business popped up. You could even say that we were maybe better off then young people today because it was less expensive then to get going in

> farming or work, and, of course, most people couldn't afford to go to university.

But he went on to describe how life was hard during the "Dirty Thirties":

> It sure was bad when they shut [the hospital] down because of the Dirty Thirties. People say today is a bad time, but the Depression was much, much worse. No work, no money, not much help from the government, poor health care. All we had was God and neighbours. Not really the same today because so many people are more worried about making money and getting more things.
>
> Yes, I've seen many businesses come and go. Mainly because of people not devoting themselves to their work. Besides marrying my wife, I married the store. I have to spend twelve to fourteen hours a day to keep it alive. I think that's why people fail at business, farming, or whatever. They're not really committed to it.

The third elderly respondent, of Italian ethnic origin but married to a Ukrainian, once lived on a farm in the Krivoisheim district. Like the first respondent, she used to walk to school four miles each way. Although life in those days could be tough, she retained many happy memories:

> Those days you remembered, you shared because you know it was something real. You play bells and have a happy Christmas, big group of people, great big long table and all the kids around mom and daddy. Daddy would be at the head of the table and mommy would be cooking, you know, with all the kids around. If you want jam you go pick berries. When mom could get sugar she was so happy. And I remember daddy buying a twenty pound pail of syrup. Home made jam, they loved to eat, but all had to scratch for it. So it's nothing like today. But it was a happier time than now. In general people are greedy now a days.

It is interesting to note how even the young people who were interviewed had adopted a positive view of the "good old days". One teenager, a French Catholic put it this way:

> "I think [the community] was probably bustling ...

> There was probably more people here, settlers trying to make a living at farming ... It was a bustling town and everything was better. [People] just helped [each other] out. I think [the quality of life] would have been better back then.

Another youth, of mixed Ukrainian and Italian origin, suggested that although the town was "basically the same size back then, I think it was moving a little more. There was a lot of businesses going on, and the farmers needed the town."

And a third youth, of Ukrainian-Polish origin, commented that in by gone days "I think it was more fun, because on weekends the town used to be full and now there's nobody. Everybody's gone away.

Among our other respondents, an affluent farmer complained,

> They always say, they always say - I am referring to the older people - nothing like to good old days, remember the good old days, and they'd talk in their native tongue, like Ukrainian. Nothing like the good old days. Why did they ever say that? Like you think about a lot of things that a lot of [older] older people say and you think well, why did they say that - there's nothing like the good old days. Then you here the stories.

Nonetheless, asked whether it was easier to begin farming in former days, a relatively poor Hungarian Catholic farmer agreed:

> Oh, yes, much easier. It was much easier, the cost, even the depressed prices now, the cost of farming was at least half what it is now. Even at the present time. Now, you couldn't start farming for the same amount of money and the collateral that I had.

Not that farming was easy. A rural serviceman explained:

> They all moved away, because the pasture was taking over the marginal land. That's why all the people moved out.
>
> The farming was very poor because of the marginal land, a lot of stones, a lot of bush. But my parents came here from the Ukraine thinking that the stones and the bush were a real asset. Some people even brought stones from Russia because they figure we

didn't have any here to cover the sauerkraut with.

Yet, again, he stressed the degree of cooperation and neighbourliness in those days:

> [The rural people were] very cooperative. If one family needed a hand, everybody joined in. Each one helped each other ... they'd leave their own work to help the neighbour if he was worse off then they were. With equipment, animals, anything else, it didn't matter. They had a lot of parties. Christmas events and concerts were always held in school or in a local hall. Everybody joined in to take part. There were local bands, local santas, local actors, local everything. And we used to go, our family played at all the local deals. The card games, kyser, it was a nightly affair. Church we'd go to on Sunday. As far as nine miles, was our closest church to go on Sunday or every other Sunday. And it was done by horse, horse and buggy, or [later] by car.

Country life was highlighted by a busy sound of weddings and other social occasions:

> The weddings that took place were a two day affair and there was a lot of good parties, a lot of dancing, a lot of singing, a lot of drinking and other goings on. At that time it was the groom's family made the wedding the second day and the bride's family made it the first day. That way it was always two different affairs for the same wedding. The local band or who ever was hired got about $5.00 a day for what they played. Now it is a $100 a night, at least, and now it's with amplifiers, then it was just straight guitar, fiddle and accordion, drums and banjo.

Hafford was a busy place, but none too easy to reach if you farmed in an outlying district such as Alberton or Kleczkowski:

> Hafford was the biggest, nearest town. And it was twenty-four miles to get there. If you wanted to make it in one day, you started out early in the morning by team. Went there for dinner, spent an hour in town, and started on the way back. You'd get home six at night. Later we got our vehicles and it was not what it is now. The roads were worse. It would take you, if it rained, four hours to get there. But, as the grid roads progressed ... the trip was made a lot shorter.

> Hafford was a bustling town. Lot of businesses, lot of dealerships.

Similarly, a teacher formerly from the Whiteberry district described the difficulty in getting around:

> When people first came here, people in those days had ten plus kids. And because the rural area was so heavily populated and you have to remember that transportation was such that it was horses, probably the odd car, there were main roads but many of the country roads were such that they would block up during winter. In fact, when I started teaching out at Orolow there were times during the winter that we would get isolated for lets say two or three weeks at a time, where the only thing that would happen is that people would use their open sleighs to bring the kids to school and nothing else would get through. The roads would be completely blocked. Often times they push a route through across [the ice of] Redberry Lake to get to Hafford. And I can remember, you know, after school, you know school served as a center in those days. Like it was the community centre, and it had a lot of importance. I don't think that's there today. But we would be isolated for awhile. People would have snow plows and I can remember going at seven, they would stop at the school, and they would say we're going to try and open the roads today, so make sure you've got a lot of coffee on and hot water, we'll make tea and sandwiches and whatever. They would bring a lot of their own stuff, everybody would pitch in and right after school we would get out and get our shovels and whatever, we'd have two, three tractors pushing these plows and maybe one or two to pull them back out when they would get stuck. Because eventually they would just bog right down. And we may have had ten, fifteen people with snow shovels and so on to shovel the thing out. I can remember one time spending three days, we shovelled snow for three days and the road was finally pushed through and the transport and the train was running at that time, and they moved all our groceries an things in Hafford and Krydor and so on. We'd phone ahead for them to pick up all kinds of supplies, everything that we would need. And we went out after three days of shoveling and picked everything up and came back home and the next morning it was all blown in again. So we'd be stuck again for another three days or a week or two before they could open it once more. So things are very different now.

This teacher again echoed the reminiscence that rural life was busy:

> [They did] a lot of things. People pull together. Basically, I would say that more people were in the same boat. Like nobody was overly rich and nobody was really poor. Even though there were people who didn't have what everybody, you know, what others did have. But generally rural electrification came in at that time and it was being subsidized, you know, it was available to everybody. The power was something that most people had, not all people, but most people. An generally you had to do things to have fun. And what I mean by that - the gymnasiums were not available, like the neighbouring school would be ten miles down the road, you'd walk down, and have a ball game, turn around and walk back home again. Things like that. We'd have good school concerts at the school. When I was teaching we did a lot of things, had a great bunch of people then. The parents were great. They would do things for their children. We were lucky because had a hall and a church just about half a mile from the school so the hall was always available for school dances and so on. And we hauled water and made a skating rink. Do you remember freezing sand in jam cans and putting handles on and using them for curling rocks? Like everybody helped everybody else. When everybody went out to play ball, people didn't sort of pick on anyone or laugh at someone or whatever, like, because these were the students that were there, the students in grade 7, 8, 9, and in any other grades, helped the people that couldn't hit the ball. You know, they would teach them or whatever. Where as today that certainly doesn't happen as often which other coach or somebody organizing it. People did a lot of things for themselves and enjoyed the things that they did. Because they were things that they had made and they took pride in it. It think today, I find in the school, that you could send the kids outside, and generally outside playing football or softball they don't really know any of the games. In those days because games and things were not really available as such, you had to make things up on your own and so there were a lot of things that you did. You know, you have to improvise. And because you improvised and used the materials that were around you at that particular time, it just made things that much more interesting. You know, if you're going skating, you had to flood the rink first. So everybody worked hard at flooding, and of course because everybody worked they took pride in it and kept it up an you skated. Today you pay your $50.00 and you go and skate and you don't really care. You know somebody is supposed to clean it, somebody else

> is supposed to look after it. That's the difference, I would think. Like you know, it's not the people aren't proud of what we have in town right now. We are, however, it's just a different system. I think the youngsters growing up don't have that pride, you know, of having done something for themselves. They expect someone else to buy the uniforms and transportation. It's sort of all handled for them. It's a different society that we're living in now, I guess. It's just a different, it's just a change. It's not just a change in Hafford alone, it's a change throughout Saskatchewan and throughout Canada.

The current mayor of Hafford grew up in the Langley district, just ten kilometers out of town. He also recalls a busy rural social life:

> Yes, those times have changed. Our entertainment was visiting from neighbour to neighbour and playing, you know, cards or going down skiing or tobogganing. We had to learn to play music by ear from radio. Almost every household had an instrument and they got together, they played, they sang and it was jolly entertainment. I remember almost every five, six miles away there was a band formed, you know, local school dances and there was real good times. Dance to the wee hours of the morning. We just had a fiddle, guitar, banjo accordion and drum and whatever and away you went. Parties were easy to organize because there was almost a band in every house, so you know, you start up a party and there it goes just a-swinging. Now it's different. The style of dancing is different. Social life is much different. As our teenagers are growing up they don't seem to have the get up and go. Like you know, for a good time, put on a rock tape and stand there and sort of that's there way of having fun, I suppose. Sure times are changing. Our way of life was much different. It was live entertainment and a good time.
>
> There was lots of food. Ukrainian weddings used to last three or four days. I remember going playing; we used to get out the night before and the next day and probably Sunday and so it was a three day wedding all the time.
>
> If you couldn't make it in a vehicle, you made it on foot because the roads were muddy. You couldn't get through a lot of places.
>
> You had to go, barefoot, wet. It was a great time.

3. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS

3.1 Overview: Comparison of Trends in Redberry R.M., Hafford and Krydor

The demographic data indicate that the population of the Rural Municipality of Redberry has been declining steadily at least for the past four decades, if not longer, whereas the Hafford population initially increased, then reached a static plateau, while Krydor's population steadily increased until the seventies, then very sharply declined to the point where this village has almost become a ghost town (Table 3- 1). Although somewhat differing conclusions could be drawn, depending on which data are used (the Census of Canada data invariably conflict with Saskatchewan Health Services Plan data), these general trends may be discerned in longitudinal perspective. The argument would rather be over the exact rate of change in short-term periods, e.g. annual or five-year intercensal.

In general, the population of Redberry R.M. has declined so inexorably that during the fifties and sixties it was virtually cut in half, and the same approximate rate of decline seems to be continuing through the present, so that the R.M. has again lost almost half the population it had in 1951. This decline would seem to have been fairly steady, and if this trend continues, we can project that the town population will actually bypass the population of the surrounding rural municipality in the next decade; more people will live in Hafford than in the R.M. This reflects, of course, the drastic decline in rural farm population.

The population of Hafford grew slowly from 280 back in 1926 to 351 in 1951, slowed down if not temporarily reversed by the depression and drought years, the "dirty thirties" and early forties. In 1951 it was

well on the way to recovery, and proceeded to grow steadily until the sixties, reaching 511 in 1961. But then it levelled off, and has been essentially static during the past three decades. SHSP data indicate a significant increase during the early seventies, slowing down during the latter portion of that decade, then declining slightly during the early eighties, and perhaps starting to increase very slowly again in the past year. Whereas census data, in keeping with Saskatchewan Department of Municipal Affairs data, show a continuing, albeit slow increase through the sixties, a slow decline during the early seventies, followed by a slow increase since the mid-seventies. In either case the overall picture is, to repeat, one of steady growth until the sixties, followed by moderately fluctuating trends.

In Krydor the population increased very gradually, from 119 in 1926 to 130 a quarter of a century later, in 1951. A slightly faster rate of growth occurred during the fifties, with the village growing to 184 in 1961. Then it is debatable which trend occurred, given conflicting data. Census data, supported the SDMS data, indicate a marked decline already setting in during the sixties, a drop from 184 to 1961 to 130 in 1971; but SHSP data place the village population at 254 in 1971, suggesting continuing growth. Yet both SHSP and census data reveal a very sharp drop during the seventies and eighties: according to the census, the village lost 42% of its residents between 1971 and 1981; SHSP data indicate an even greater loss, some two-thirds of the residents. And SHSP data show that the diastrous rate of decline has actually increased exponentially, as the village lost another third of the remaining residents just in the past year.

3.2 Changing Age and Sex Structure

Presumably the difference in trends for the R.M., Hafford and Krydor may be explained through analysis of the changing age and sex structure. Based on SHSP data, we have calculated the age and sex distribution of the total population of the R.M., town and village for each year between 1970 and 1987. (Tables 1-1 to 1-18, chapter 1 and Figures 1-5 to 1-10, chapter 1) But to summarize, let us simply compare these two years.

In Redberry R.M. the sex ratio has widened in favour of males. In 1970 males constituted 52.5% of the total population, females 47.5%; whereas in 1987 males made up 55.5%, compared to 44.5% female. The reverse ratio was found in Hafford and Krydor. In Hafford, the male proportion declined slightly from 47.7% in 1970 to 46.7% in 1987, while the female proportion increased from 52.3% to 53.3%. Similarly, in Krydor the male proportion declined from 50.0% to 48.9%, while the female rose from 50.0% to 51.1%. Perhaps this could be accounted for in the observation that single or widowed women are not as likely to remain in outlying country districts as their male counterparts, whereas single or widowed women are not uncommon in town. This is confirmed by data on the sex ratio in the population aged over 65, where the greatest spread in male vs female proportion can be noted, also the greatest difference between the country districts, on the one hand, and the communities, on the other hand.

Examination of the data on age, comparing 1970 and 1987, further reveals that for the population as a whole, i.e. excluding sex differences, a far higher - and steadily increasing - proportion of older age people is found in Hafford and particularly Krydor than in the R.M. The proportion of population aged 65 and over increased from 28.0%

in Hafford in 1970 to 36.7% by 1987. The increase was even faster in Krydor: from 20.5% to 55.3%. Whereas out in the country districts the proportion was far lower, and actually declining; here is fell from 12.1% to 10.3% between 1970 and 1987.

The data on youth similarly show some startling trends. In Hafford, between 1970 and 1987, the proportion which youth aged 19 years and under constituted of the total population declined from 28.% to 21.1%. In Krydor, the decline was even more drastic: from 28.7% to only 6.4%. Whereas country districts have managed to retain a more balanced age distribution; here the proportion of youth remained quite significant, nonetheless did decline, from 35.1% to 31.9%.

These trends imply that if this rate of change continues, and there would seem to be ample reason for it to continue, by the end of this century (little more than a decade) the youth proportion in Hafford will be less than 12%, while the elderly will comprise at least 42%, in other words almost half of the total population. The dependency ratio, therefore, would add up to about 54%, although it should be admitted that there has also been a substantial increase in this particular community in the proportion aged 20-44. In general it seems safe to conclude that in a small town such as Hafford the older aged people, attracted by services and facilities for seniors, as well as proximity to shops, are in fact serving to maintain the town and its overall population. But for how long? Two scenarios come to mind: As older aged people soon die off, the community population, if not the community per se, will decline. Alternatively, it could be argued that the ranks of seniors will constantly be replenished as all people grow older at the same rate. The problem with this latter interpretation is that in

Hafford there has been a steady decline in the proportion of people aged 45–64 (i.e. the future seniors), from 27.1% in 1970 down to 18.5% in 1987.

In small villages such as Krydor the imbalance in age structure is most dramatic and alarming. As the total village population has rapidly declined, the proportion of seniors has steadily increased. When two decades ago seniors were less than 20% of the population, today they comprise a majority. And the youth have virtually disappeared: in 1970 there were seventy-three, today only three remain. How can Krydor survive unless there is a major and immediate reversal of these trends?

Let us hear the views of some of the residents:

The mayor of Hafford:

> Are there quite a few people, like families moving out of the town?
>
> No not really. The only ones that are declining our population in Hafford, really is the older people [who] just pass on and leave vacant a few vacant houses. But we've had some, it's been in and out movements lately. Some movement for employment or they've been transferred, but others move in so it's been kind of on a see-saw. The only population that we have lost is through elderly people passing away. But other than that there hasn't been anybody that have moved out. The younger ones that I know of, the only ones that move on is to university or from there on to the work force.
>
> So I would like to see [in] our town more younger people getting interested in some sort of development or industry. Our population is aging and pretty soon we'll need the arrivals of the younger generation. A lot of them will be retiring and we'll need the younger generation to take over and stay, therefore, I expect in the next five or six years there's going to be a change. Like for the nursing staff, there's going to be lots of them retiring, so we'll need younger people there, to come in and to take over the responsibilities for those retiring.

An elderly Ukrainian Catholic man:

> Here in town, there are many groups, though they're mostly older folks.

A French Catholic youth:

> This is what this town is basically made up of is old people.

3.3 Fertility and Mortality Trends

Fertility:

Family and fertility studies across Canada have indicated repeatedly that rural families tend to be larger than urban, on the average, but that even in rural populations average family size has been declining. This could partially account for the relatively higher proportion youth comprise of the rural municipality population, compared to town or village, also the moderate decline in this youth proportion over the past couple of decades.

As the mayor of Hafford, himself raised "out in the country", commented:

> Families are getting smaller. Years ago each family had four, five children. Now the cost of bringing up your children, and sending them to university, is quite costly so married couples prefer to stay with the one or two family units. We can't do very much about that either, personal choice. The enrolment in school has dropped quite drastically. We hope that the younger generation would raise a bigger family so we can keep our community together.

Mortality:

In order to determine fluctuations in the mortality rate over several decades, and trends specifically in infant and child mortality, burial records were studied and data gathered from eighteen graveyards in Hafford, Krydor, and throughout the rural municipality (Table 3-2). Birth and death dates were recorded for 1,280 individuals buried in

these cemeteries, yielding detailed information both on longevity and child mortality. From the accumulated data we learned that the total number of burials increased rapidly from 1905 to the early 1920s; then came a period, between 1920 and 1944, when the number remained static, in the 70+ range; the number again increased, then remained in 90-110 range for three decades, 1945-1974; and has gradually declined to the previous static level since then. The proportion of child burials (i.e. under ten years of age at death, including infant mortality) was high (between 16% and 41%) until the mid-forties, peaking at 40.8% in 1920-24; then rapidly decreased until no child burials occurred after 1965 (except a couple since 1985).

With an ageing population, especially in Krydor and to a lesser extent Hafford, mortality was closely linked to community decline by some informants.

A Ukrainian Catholic youth commented:

> Because of the amount of funerals taking place in Hafford and other places, I've seen how many people have moved in. In the last two months, including that new policeman who just came in, there's been no more than three families. And in the last two months there has been more than ten people die in Hafford.

Asked where people had gone from a rural district, one farmer replied:

> Well, they retired, they died off. I think there was 2 of them gone into Hafford. And that's about it. The rest have retired or there was two of them over here went to Saskatoon. And in the last ten years two or more went to Saskatoon and for the least that is eight died. So it does add up. Once you get the numbers together it adds up. Nothing we can do about that.

TABLE 3-1:

Comparison of Population Trends in
Redberry R.M., Hafford and Krydor, 1951-1987

	Redberry R.M.:	Hafford:	Krydor:
1951	2184[1]	351[1]	130[1]
1956	1876[1]	453[1]	169[1]
1961	1464[1]	511[1]	184[1]
1968	1183[3]	560[3]	160[3]
1971	1010[1] 1096[2]	585[1] 472[2]	130[1] 254[2]
1976	820[1] 818[2]	515[1] 547[2]	119[2]
1981	715[1] 680[2]	557[1] 599[2]	75[1] 76[2]
1986	697[2]	526[2]	70[2]
1987	692[2]	540[2]	47[2]

Data Source:

[1] Census of Canada

[2] Saskatchewan Health Services Plan (SHSP)

[3] Saskatchewan Department of Municipal Affairs (SDMA)

TABLE 3-2:

Data on Burials in Eighteen Cemeteries*
in the Rural Municipality of Redberry, 1900-1988

Years (Cohorts)	Total Burials	%	Child Burials**	%
1900-04	0	-	-	-
1905-09	6	100	1	16.7
1910-14	29	100	9	31.0
1915-19	51	100	19	19.6
1920-24	76	100	31	40.8
1925-29	73	100	17	23.3
1930-34	75	100	17	22.7
1935-39	78	100	16	20.5
1940-44	77	100	17	22.1
1945-49	98	100	12	12.2
1950-54	110	100	7	6.4
1955-59	98	100	5	5.1
1960-64	95	100	1	1.1
1965-69	90	100	0	0.0
1970-74	90	100	0	0.0
1975-79	82	100	0	0.0
1980-84	82	100	0	0.0
1985-88	70	100	2	2.9
TOTAL	1,280	100	145	11.33

* Cemeteries surveyed were: Descent of the Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic at Orolow; Holy Trinity R.C. at Orolow; St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic at Uhryniw; Holy Ghost R.C. at Alberton; St. Michael Ukrainian Catholic at Sich; Doukhobor cemetery at Haralowka; Sipchen cemetery at Slawa; Holy Trinity Ukrainian Orthodox at Slawa; Ukrainian Catholic at Welechko; Ukrainian Catholic at Krydor; St. Michael's R.C. at Krydor; St. Jean Baptiste R.C. at Alberton-Bears Lake; Lorenzo-Kleczkowski cemetery; Holy Eucharist Ukrainian Catholic at Hafford; St. Peter's Anglican at Hafford; Holy Ghost Ukrainian Orthodox at Hafford; St. Solange R.C. at Hafford.

** Child burials are all children ten years of age and under, including infant mortality.

4. RURAL POPULATION DECLINE AND MOBILITY

4.1 Rural Depopulation

In north-central Saskatchewan, and throughout the prairies, intensive rural settlement has been replaced by extensive in most areas; increasing rural population by rapid rural depopulation; physical and social isolation and a lack of mobility by increased physical and social mobility (Anderson, 1972). Rural focal points (such as country schoolhouses, churches, community halls, post offices, general stores, and grain elevators) have disappeared. Local rural district names have been eliminated from maps and might be known only to people who are middle-aged or elderly.

During the early years of settlement in the region, the immigrants revealed a marked preference for rural as opposed to urban life, laying much stress on neighbourliness (Britnell, 1939; Ward, 1968). Farm size was generally small; in other words, rural settlement was generally far more intensive than it is today. Out of 58 farms in the Hafford area in 1917, 25 were one quarter of less and 20 two quarters (Archives of Sask., Martin Papers, file 168, 1917). Nonetheless, Ukrainian immigrants complained that the farms were too spread out; in the Kraine their farms had been only a dozen acres or so in size, so that "you could hear the sound of bells from the village", which brought "a great pleasure in your heart". Resistance to assimilatory tendencies, for example in the Anglo-dominated school system, doubtless was enhanced by spatial and social isolation or segregation which corresponded with fairly intensive settlement and close-knit community life (Dawson, 1936, 1940; England, 1929).

However, this situation was soon destined to change. The region's

population increased steadily through the 1920s. Then a long period of difficult economic conditions began. With the arrival both of severe drought and an international financial depression in 1929, the prices for agricultural production dropped drastically, affecting all ancillary businesses. With continued drought through 1937, topsoil drifted, many were driven off ruined farms, and those who remained became dependent on relief payments while their taxes went unpaid and their idle machinery rusted (Archer, 1965). By 1939 an economic recovery began, only to be hampered by the conscription of young men during the war.

By 1961 the total population of Division 16, of which the R.M. of Redberry is a part, still had not regained its 1931 level. Rural decline was very marked, double that of the province as a whole during the 1936-51 period. In fact, only one rural municipality out of thirty-five in the entire north-central region (Division 15 and 16_ showed a population increase over 10%; all the other R.M.s were declining or fairly static. During the fifties many R.M.s were decreasing rapidly while most of the remainder were fairly static; only a couple were increasing. Nor has this decline abated much during the past couple of decades. Rural farm population has increased around several towns or villages, particularly some located close to major urban centres, but generally there has been a consistent and rapid decline of rural farm population in most R.M.s throughout the region, if not throughout the prairies. In 1951 some 1,800 farms, representing 27% of the total number of farms in Division 16, had already been abandoned (note, however, that the establishment of new farms reduced this proportion to 16%). Only bout 300 of these withdrawals were by young farmers, suggesting that most withdrawals might have been due to the

retirement of older farmers rather than simply due to economic conditions, though it is instructive to note that these farmers were not sold as units but either incorporated into larger units or abandoned entirely (ARDA, 1966).

In longitudinal perspective, while the rural farm population in Saskatchewan has been steadily decreasing, the rural non-farm population has generally been static or slowly increasing and the urban has been increasing more rapidly; in general, the smaller the community, the faster the population decrease. We have seen this very clearly in comparing Hafford and Krydor. Yet the population increase in local trade centres would seem to be only a temporary phenomenon. Much of this increase is due to the older farmers and their spouses retiring from farms out in the country and moving into a town or village. The younger generation, on the other hand, have been moving not only off the farms but also out of the local centres. Thus one study in the mid-sixties found that in Division 16, for every nine persons who left the rural parts of a municipality, only one was retained by a growing local trade centre. Among young adults, the percentage retained was negligible. Whereas in the older age group, the centres probably accounted for a quarter to a third of the rural migrants (ARDA, 1966). Many centres, such as Hafford, are currently "holding their own", are essentially static, but in the near future may experience rapid population decline due to a lack of replenishment by younger people and increased physical and social mobility, which causes local businesses to shut down.

As the mayor of Hafford commented:

> A lot of newer, modern homes [were built] in the last twenty years ... [When] the water works came through

> [it] really made a difference to the town. A lot of people moved in during that time to Hafford. Instead of building their homes on the farm they moved in and farmed right from town because of the water and sewage facilities.
>
> In my age group, there's quite a few that are here farming yet, or else in business, and a few that have moved out into the cities, some in Winnipeg and Edmonton. But those that are farm oriented are still hanging on to the farms.

It is instructive to place the mayor's guarded optimism in the context of demographic analysis: Hafford has gained little if any population in thirty years, which the surrounding rural municipality has lost two-thirds of its population during the past four decades.

4.2 Transportation and Mobility

Physical mobility has corresponded closely with rural depopulation; mobility has greatly increased in recent decades with marked improvements in road transportation. It was not until the 1950s that the main highway between Saskatoon and North Battleford was paved; the highway from North Battleford through Hafford to Prince Albert was not paved until the sixties; and the road (31 kilometers) linking Hafford to the North Battleford-Saskatoon highway was finally paved during the seventies. Paving of highways has added immeasurably to the accessibility of rural residents to cities, just as the improvement and better maintenance of country grid roads have facilitated access of farm families to towns such as Hafford.

For several decades the railways played a big role in the transporting people, grain and freight in road access. One outcome of the improvement and building of roads has been the wholesale closure of rail lines (particularly branch lines), railway stations, and most

recently grain elevators throughout the prairies. The line through Hafford and Krydor has been maintained, recently repaired, and Hafford has a computerized amalgamated grain terminal. But the "back country" branch lines have not fared so well: the line extending close to the northern districts of Redberry R.M. was abandoned long ago, the line north from Speers through the westernmost district of the R.M. more recently.

With improved road transportation have come many changes: an exodus from rural areas (as farmers could now operate their farms while living in town), the eradication of country social life, a reorientation of rural people toward the city (for shopping, work, or education, or even moving their permanently).

Several respondents commented on these changes: according to the mayor, Hafford has "a very good bus system ... two buses a day, one going to North Battleford in the morning and one coming back in the evening"; this facilitates access to the city even form people, such as seniors, who lack their own cars.

> Yeas ago, I remember driving back in those years and old country roads, getting stuck in snow banks and you had to make sure you have the shovel with you. Now with the roads all grid roads and super grids, the distance doesn't even matter anymore because the roads are all-weather roads, they're constructed [better].
>
> During that time, I guess, people just had money to come to their local town and shop. Now they have more money, newer vehicles; they go to the city and you know, they sort of make it an outing as well as a shopping day.

One elderly respondent, a former shopkeeper, explained:

> Again, for a number of years we had quite a nice business. But afterwards, when the roads were built, that's when our business dropped. People could travel with cars and we had to close down because we

weren't doing very well. As a matter of fact we were going under. And we closed the store and then we took up farming. I found that also the community was a lot stronger at one time. I found that I missed those days and I missed my friends. When new comers started coming that way, we don't have the same communications ... no we don't ... not at all. Like I don't even know some of my neighbours because they don't have their numbers in the telephone of my neighbours because they don't have their numbers in the telephone book. And it's only a mile west of our place. So we don't know his number in case our house was on fire or his house was on fire. And the neighbour next to us, he's too busy. Too much making money - too busy. So I find myself quite alone. That's not the way it was before.

A youth added:

Back then, like 30-40 years ago, people were still using horses. So they didn't want to travel to Battleford or Saskatoon and so they came to Hafford. That was their home base. They used it as their home base and that's how Hafford lasted so long. I think the town was booming because of the horses. Because the people had to use horses to get around. And, like I said, people couldn't travel by horse, you know, forty miles, fifty miles to North Battleford or Saskatoon. So they used Hafford and you know, Hafford offered them what they needed. They didn't have to go any other place. So that's when Hafford was growing and moving at its prime time. And then when the automobile became more popular, more widespread, the people went to the big cities, and then Hafford sort of just started to die. The garages packed up and left Hafford. And other services, there used to be a newspaper in town. It went bankrupt. So, you know, people didn't need Hafford like they did when they had horses.

And a school teacher commented:

It's just the way things go. People are more mobile now. They are able to attend things in the cities. For example, we have 2 hockey teams this weekend. There's a tournament in town and we have a hockey team in Maidstone and someplace else. So years back you didn't have to travel that far to face another team or to have opposition because the town was just ten miles or five miles down the road. Today it's a little different. Well, looking at what we have now, we're very fortunate to have all the things that we have. We have some excellent stores and facilities in our town. They provide, you know, all the kind of

> things you require. Naturally they are smaller and you don't have the variety. And I think that's what sometimes sends people into the city. Again, like I said, people are more mobile now, so if you're in to Saskatoon on business already, you tend to stop and maybe pick up some grocers. Naturally, with the store [in Hafford] being smaller they can't carry all the styles and everything else, so the younger people would actually be going for style, and they would probably have to go into the city. And when they do they don't stop at one store, they go to twenty or thirty of them. At one time, a lot of our prices were a lot higher. Then the bigger stores in the bigger cities have advantages and of course they are always fighting each other with prices, so naturally you are going to [find] good bargains over and above what you can get here.

4.3 Rural-Urban Shift

Other portions of this project, apart from the community case study, have documented in detail the progressive urbanization of the Saskatchewan population. In fact, several respondents in the community study commented on the effects of a study, perhaps increasing exodus from Hafford and area to cities.

According to one youth:

> For adults, the quality of life, if your business is farming or something centered in the town, in the past it was good. Right now it's not bad. Its future is going to go down. And for kids, in the past it was good because more emphasis was put on farming and more kids wanted to farm. More girls stayed around. There wasn't so much emphasis on the cities. Now, the emphasis on the cities is there. Girls leaving. Guys, most guys are leaving, some are staying behind. And in the future it's just going to be worse. Like it seems like the only way to make it better yourself after school is to go on to post secondary education and that's in the city. And once you go into that usually you find a job in a city somewhere right away. So it's not really good.

Another youth added, rather succinctly:

> I have three brothers and three sisters. They're all working - not in Hafford, but in Saskatoon, Battleford and there's one in Alberta. Why they left

> Hafford? Nothing to do here. No jobs, nothing. Will I be in Hafford? I hope not - I might be - it depends - probably work for a farmer - that's about it. Nothing available for me to do in town - no, not really, no. If I Had to leave to find work, would I consider coming back to Hafford? No. There's nothing here for me. Find myself a nice place to live and make some money, lots of money. Yes, I like the city life better - more people, lots of different things, more stores, lots of girls. I figure just about everybody [of my friends] will be leaving Hafford - yes, just about everybody. Yes, it used to be so hard to go to the city, it would take days. Now you just hop in your car and you're there in an hour. If you need something, instead of hopping on the horse and buggy, you just hop in your car and go.

One farmer discussed the difficulty in finding a wife who would stay on a farm; most young women head into the city to live and work.

Another farmer stressed the urgent need to draw young people "into the community":

> In this particular area, about the only way is to start them farming. Any other wise we're not going to get anybody. We live too close to North Battleford. All the interests are going to be there but it's far enough away that you can't drive back and forth and work there. So that's one, I don't know, if you want to call it good or bad, but there is nothing we can do about it.

The mayor of Hafford saw it was "a problem with communities like ours that the distance between cities is so close that people can hop in their car and within three-quarters of an hour they are in a bigger centre". This is something of an exaggeration; it takes three-quarters of an hour to reach North Battleford, an hours to Saskatoon, and an hour and a half to Prince Albert. But his point is well taken, namely, that with frequent trips into the city, youth are naturally lured away permanently.

4.4 Age Structure and Migration

Our survey of 507 former residents of Hafford provided some

interesting information on when (i.e. at what age) people are most likely to leave the community. Discounting ten missing cases, of the remainder more than half (59.8%) reported that they had left "permanently" when they were teenagers or children; a third (33.2%) when they were between 20 and 44; any few (6.4%) when they were 45-64; and hardly any (0.6%) when they were older than 65. In other words, calculating the cumulative frequency, 93% left as youth or young adults.

The mayor of Hafford estimated that "maybe half" of the young people leave, mostly to Saskatoon, many to go to university, then they stay away permanently.

The schoolteacher explained:

> What do I think about that? Well I had a discussion about that not long ago and I feel that unless the [young] people come back to agriculture and service industry, [they won't come back]. That's only two industries that are in the community. Retail trade requires a good amount of cash to start with, and I think that young people aren't going to have that. And they are not going to put up with a little extra work that is required to do that. I don't know how you can bring them back. As I said, it gets back to the point where there's industry or some sort of industry, there's job opportunities for younger people. But [for] the highly skilled, or say a professional person, there's only a limited number of opportunities. Certainly there's opportunities for nurses and teachers and there are some here. But if they are highly skilled they look for job opportunities elsewhere as well. I mean it's a natural migration to the cities.

4.5 Attitudes Toward Physical Mobility

In his 1972 study of three Ukrainian-Polish settlements, including Redberry, Anderson found that 43.4% of Ukrainian Orthodox respondents (83), 46.7% of Polish Catholic ones (15), and 18.2% of Ukrainian Catholics interviewed (154) reported "permanent" departure from the

settlement of some family members; moreover, that 44.6% of Ukrainian Orthodox, 53.3% of Polish Catholics, and 62.3% of Ukrainian Catholics interviewed expressed their disapproval of migration out of the settlement.

By cross-tabulating ethnic identity variables with physical mobility variables, the equivalent of scatter diagrams based on total percentages from each table were produced to discern significant correlations between the categories of these variables, controlling for ethnic group. In general, it was found that the more conservative respondents in each group were the ones very largely responsible for attitudes opposing physical mobility, though migration out of conservative families was just as high if not higher than out of more liberal ones.

4.6 Attitudes Toward Social Mobility

The relationship between physical mobility, social mobility, and social in rural communities should not necessarily be taken for granted. It is possible to have physical mobility without social mobility; for example, unskilled labourers who commute to the city, without changing their status or occupation, or farmers who live in the city but still carry on farming. And it is possible to have social change without physical or social mobility. Or occupational integration without social integration. Or economic integration without affecting social segregation or cultural pluralism. However, in the prairies physical mobility has tended to be closely related to social mobility and social change, particularly for the younger generation. For example, in Anderson's (1972) study many younger respondents asked why they should speak Ukrainian or Polish and keep up their ethnic traditions when they

didn't want to take over the family farm but get a "better job" in some city, where ethnic identity mattered little.

In that study, asked whether their sons or daughters now have professional occupations requiring more education than the respondent had, 19.3% of the Ukrainian Orthodox (83) and 9.7% of the Ukrainian Catholic (154) respondents replied in the affirmative, however a high proportion - 80.7% of Ukrainian Orthodox, 90.3% of Ukrainian Catholics, and all of the Polish Catholics said that the question did not apply.

Likert sealing of respondents' attitudes toward social mobility revealed substantial differences between those three ethnoreligious groups, but that opposition to social mobility seemed to be minimal:

TABLE 3-3:

Attitude of Respondents Toward Social Mobility

Group	No Response/ Inapplicable	Opposed Strongly	Gen	Indiff- erent	In Favour Gen	Strongly	Total	
Ukrainian Orthodox	16.9	0.0	1.2	41.0	28.9	12.0	100.0	(83)
Ukrainian Catholic	19.5	0.0	9.1	63.0	7.8	0.6	100.0	(154)
Polish	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	(15)

Moreover, Anderson tentatively concluded, in correlating attitudes toward ethnicity, physical mobility, age and generation differences with social mobility attitudes, that the more conservative, least mobile, older aged first generation respondents tended to be the ones opposed to or at least not in favour of social mobility.

Our present community study, almost two decades later, reveals that community members seem to take for granted a high degree of social

mobility for youth in the area. The pervasive attitude today seems to be, "to get ahead, most young people will have to leave the area".

Even elderly people interviewed expressed this view, albeit with some reluctance:

An elderly Polish Catholic woman formerly from the Sich district:

> If I would still have [life] over again, I would still tell you and I would tell my daughters to go to University. Knowledge means too much. Except I would like the government to do something [for] the parents who are sending their children - putting so much money into education - so after when they graduate there would be a place for them to go and get a job. Some older people will have to retire early so as to leave a place for youth to get a job.
>
> People were very proud of the children that went to school. People respected very much. I think now I think they're still proud. I think a lot of older people are very very proud of the youth going to school. I think they are more prouder than even the younger ones are. Cause here I was talking to a young man, he came to fix my fridge, and he says that it's not university any more it's trade. But who will teach you trade if you don't have university? Where will we stand if we don't have our children go to university? At one time, if you finished, for instance you become a school teacher, or like you're picking your Masters or Ph.D. there would be a job very easily. Which now there isn't, mind you. But there isn't that many in Canada. Me, I feel, the way I could say, Canada is such a big country and such a little bit of people,, if a person wants to work, he should get a job, somehow. Our governments should manage that. Yes. This is what, sometimes, I feel very unhappy about. Hafford is different, you know, like I don't know if you would be able to get a job in Hafford. Yes, with or without an education?
>
> I feel it has to get better and I feel I have a great hope in youth. I think youth are the people that will change it. For one certain reason I think youth have to change it is because youth do have better education and maybe somebody will listen.

An elderly Ukrainian Catholic man formerly from Krasne district:

> What about my family now? Well, Adam, he works and farms in Hafford. My brother Dymtro died in a farm accident 1941. My sisters are married and living in

> Saskatoon and the rest of us are farming nearby or else retired here in town.
>
> We have two sons - Gerald who is 46 and Roger who is 41 now. Gerald wanted to go to university. He took engineering for three years and then went to Europe for a year. When he came back he became a teacher. He quit that in 1973 and now he is in the construction business in Calgary. He just didn't want to farm.
>
> Roger went to the U of S and got a degree in Chemistry. Later he went into Commerce at the university. He loves the small towns, but lives in Dalmeny because he works in Saskatoon and it's closer.

The youths we interviewed took leaving the area the most for granted, to get an education and "get ahead" in life.

A French Catholic girl:

> Yes, [my friends] they'll probably all be leaving except ones like who don't want to go to university or can't afford to go or something, don't get accepted. They might just get a job [somewhere].
>
> They'll leave Hafford.
>
> I think it was mainly the same [before] but I think more people stayed. Cause I know my brother is still here and like lots of people that age. They are still here but now it seems like everybody is leaving.
>
> Cause I don't know. Maybe his friends were here and he found a job. Now everything is closing down and there's nothing to do and nothing is happening.
>
> I don't know, if [my friends] stayed, well I think they'd be really bored with nothing to do, like. I think they should go out and get something, like, in Saskatoon, or something.
>
> Yes, [some would] be limited in what they had. Like they'd probably just end up getting married, staying in Hafford all their lives doing nothing.
>
> Probably the ones that are accepted to university go. And the ones that don't want to go and they don't really feel like getting a job, they probably just stay on the farm and help or something.

What would I say about them, like as far as their characteristics go, like the ones who stay?

Lazy.

A Ukrainian Catholic boy:

Have I thought of staying in Hafford?

No, there's nothing there I really want to do. Like I said, it's pretty limited what you want to do. And anything that is offered there is either ... it's odd jobs. That's basically all that's there.

Well, put it this way, you'd never become a lawyer or doctor in Hafford. You're going to be painting fire hydrants and putting up signs. That's the job opportunity in Hafford.

Like I said, those are the only things that are available to young people. That, or stocking shelves in one of the couple stores.

The cause, I think, is because the town is too small to have a big enough employment centre. To have any jobs, real important jobs, you know, for people growing up, you're either a farmer or you're painting hydrants.

It kind of makes you feel left out. If you want to work, and like I said before, the jobs that are there are so few that it's highly unlikely that you're going to get it anyway.

Well, there are opportunities at the lake for maintenance. But that's only two positions. You have to be great, you have to be graduated to get those. And so that left me and a whole lot of other people out. Plus, at the lake, the people who run the concession, are the only people who really work there. So there is not jobs in terms of that. Lifeguard, and the people who work the concession, and in town at the hospital there is candystriping. That's only offered for girls. And working in the nursing home is so competitive to get in, you have to be 45 yeas old before you can get in. So that kind of leaves me out too.

I want to get an education. Get into a little more exciting area. There is, like I said, lack of opportunity. I'm not one for agriculture. I could never be a farmer. And that's mainly what this town is surviving on. And so, I'm out of that too.

[Would I] consider returning afterward?

Yes, if my job led me here or to an area similar. And if I had the choice of going back here, I would go back.

Maybe cause my roots are here. I know the area, I know the people. It's not like I'm starting all over again. Having to learn new people, having to learn again. I know every road here. Like it's home.

Like, there's a couple guys, specifically in my grade, who don't have much chance to getting to university. And who don't have much chance of doing much else besides farming. It would help any other opportunity or any other chances for them, better themselves by going into secondary education. They have to. They are pretty well forced to stay back with the farm and try and make the best of it. Where the girls, you know, they feel that farming isn't for them. And usually girls go to the city and they can find a job. Whereas a guy he just can't walk into a place, especially if he's big and he looks stupid and if his marks aren't very good. He's not going to get any place. Whereas girls, pretty looking and that, well she can become a waitress or a cashier, you know, and girls they like to be where the action is, where the fun is. And Hafford, like that area, just doesn't offer that. Where, the girls won't go out so much - what I mean by going out is girls don't really like to drive eighty to ninety miles to go to a city to have fun or something. A guy, you know, if he's on the farm, he's working on the farm, you know, when Friday night comes, Saturday night comes, he's willing to go out eighty, ninety miles to have some fun for a few hours.

I think that there's going to be a lot of bachelors, as there is now.

There are a lot of bachelors. In just about every R.M. Basically because, I guess girls want to go out. They want to get to places with more opportunity and that. They don't want to stay back on the farm like the boys do. If a boy stays back, thinks he can get a wife. Some people like farming or at least appear to like it. So they'll stay back, work away at it. Like I said, there are going to be a lot of bachelors. And I can just about see a couple in my grade that will be or look to be bachelors.

A Roman Catholic boy of Ukrainian origin:

> Out of my friends and classmates, out of the ones that stay, what kinds of kids stay in Hafford? Well like say out of your class, out of the guys and girls that decide to stay and life and work in Hafford, what do I think about them?
>
> I don't know. They can do whatever they want. That doesn't matter to me. I don't know.
>
> Why do I think they stay?
>
> They like it here.
>
> Some - a few - of the guys I know plan on farming.
>
> Why do I think people keep leaving?
>
> School. They go off to school and then they find themselves jobs. Get married.

Even the mayor admitted:

> The young people go to university and they leave Hafford, and they wish they could come back but there is nothing to come to really. Because there is no employment really in here.

It is very clear, then, that in the minds of both young and old, leaving the area is equated with success, staying behind with a lack of enterprise, unless in the rare instance a young man becomes an affluent farmer or local businessman. A lack of enterprise is quite literally taken as a lack of "get up and go".

4.7 Implications of Rural Depopulation

Many sociologists have emphasized the implication of urbanization, increasing physical and social mobility, and rural depopulation for localized rural community.

For example, in The Emerging City, Greer (1964) suggests that urbanization should refer not simply to a changing rural-urban proportion but to the increasing scale of society. By this he means, in

essence, that changing technology is forcing formerly relatively isolated rural areas into a network of functional interdependence. A former emphasis on ethnic particularism, particularly evident in ethnic bloc settlements, comes to be replaced by a social structure emphasizing economic function and characterized by stratification indifferent, if not antithetical, to considerations of ethnic origins. Within a certain rural locality, therefore, individuals increasingly fail to regard local groups such as their ethnic group or community as primary reference groups:

> Amalgamation and acculturation have progressed very far, producing marked similarities throughout the system. The changes in the division of labour and rewards have tended to bring the various enclaves from the small scale society into the larger system ... The continuing increase in scale causes other bases of differentiation in the society to change or disappear. As ethnic or rural origins and the associated occupational backgrounds become less crucial in determining position and rewards within the system, region also becomes less important, for regional variations summarized these within an organization autonomy characteristic of a smaller-scale society. As the nation-spanning organizational networks increase and interdependence becomes more intensive, the locality group, from neighbourhood to region, loses its distinctive organizational and cultural form ... The locality area is exposed to the mass-media and large-scale organizational networks, and the result is acculturation to the normative structure of the larger society while the latter evolves toward a similar social definition of positions throughout the system ...

As Anderson (1972) has argued, rural focal points, once the centres of highly localized rural districts, have become the victims not only of rural depopulation but also of a purposive "de-localization" or consolidation process which in turn has contributed further to rural decline.

During the fifties and early sixties hundreds of small country schoolhouses, once the vibrant centre of rural district community life, were closed in favour of developing "consolidated schools" in selected towns and villages. Redberry R.M. was no exception to this victimization in the interest of modernization; with the obliteration of country schoolhouses, localized ethnic and religious community life has been dealt a devastating blow.

Nawka school closed in 1951, Slawa in 1954, Canada in 1955, Craigmore, Ukrainia, Roseberry (Krasne), Whiteberry, and Zbaraz in 1956, Grant in 1957, Bohdan in 1958, Lost Lake and Rus in 1959, Sich and Zaporozhe in 1960, Alberton in 1961, Lancaster in 1962, Uhryniw in 1963, Langley and Orolow in 1964, Oscar Lake and Krydor in 1966.

So, too, did many of the smaller churches in outlying rural districts disappear. As Anderson (1972) has explained:

> In the early years of settlement, the small country churches were built as centres of rural districts so that they would be easily accessible by horse and buggy, as were the country schoolhouses. But with rural decline, what were already small congregations became even smaller, and the open country church found itself the centre of a localized community which no longer really existed. Thus the shortage of pastors, partly due to traditionalism, and the consolidation of congregations through the merging of nationality churches into broader conferences and synods, combined with rural depopulation to force the closure of one small country church after the other.
>
> Take as an example some of the Ukrainian Catholic churches in the Krydor parish in the Redberry bloc settlement. During a sample period of only four year, 1964-68, there was a marked decline in membership in the church at the village of Krydor: from 185 registered members (52 families and 20 singles) in 1964 to 150 members (44 families and 18 singles) in 1968. Church membership at the town of Blaine Lake decreased even faster: from 145 (38 families and 10 singles) to 102 (33 families and 6 singles). The small country church at Orolow lost almost half its members: from 110 (26 families and 3

> singles) to 60 (15 families and two singles). The one at Uhyiniw did lose exactly half: from 80 (20 families and no singles) to 40 (11 families and a couple of singles). The first three churches were holding services only twice a month by 1969, while the fourth held them once a month during the summer only; other country churches at Sich, Great Deer, and Alticane were virtually abandoned. The parish priest serving these churches knew of very few families where a son planned to take over the family farm.

The Anglican and Methodist churches in Hafford, Ukrainian Orthodox parishes of Krydor and Holy Trinity and Ukrainian Catholic church at Sich have all been abandoned or removed. Two Roman Catholic parishes in the Alberton area and another at Orolow, the Ukrainian Orthodox parish of Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary, and Ukrainian Catholic churches at Alberton, Uhryniw, and Welechko today have very small and dying congregations and meet only on occasion.

Anderson (1972) has continued:

> To complete the 'de-localization' process, many community halls - once popular among Ukrainians - have been left deserted or used only for the occasional wedding; youths head for dance halls near the cities for social gatherings. Numerous country post offices, once the place to catch up on local gossip, have closed. Such a high proportion of general stores have closed as to leave country crossroads barren and to turn small communities - such as Alticane and Alberton - into ghost towns. Grain elevators, once the shipping points for local grain farmers, have become relics from the past on [some] railway lines in the region.

Again, let us give the final word to some of our respondents:

A Ukrainian Catholic youth commented:

> That's another thing about Hafford that is dying. There are, like I said, for the R.M., there are families moving in. But for the amount that are moving in, more people are dying. More people are just quitting. Some people are going bankrupt. They can't farm no more. Some people, like in terms of the kids, the guy will stay back to help work the land while the girl leaves. When every girl leaves, the guys have no wives, not much hope of getting

wives and raising families. So right away the R.M. population will go down. Not as much activities happening in Hafford. Which means businesses will close, people will get out of work because of the businesses closing. They leave, which makes the town smaller. More businesses leave. And it's just a cycle that will just go on until Hafford is completely kaput.

It's not worth it so a lot of guys are throwing up their hands and giving up. So Hafford, like I said, Hafford is just dying. There's nothing to do.

A farmer in the Orolow area described the decline of Krydor:

What do I think happened to Krydor?

Same thing what we're talking about here all this time. Retired, died, a lot of people deceased, passed away. Unbelievable the amount that passed away. Giving up farming, retired. Krydor is a small town. There's very few facilities. You know, it's just like a puzzle. It just slowly unfolds itself. It worked its way up just like a puzzle. The railroad came through, the post office came in, the first general store came in, the second general store came in, the third general store came in, the billiard shop, the billiard place came up, the hotel was built. You know, there was a butcher, everything, all the little conveniences of a small western town. And then over the years people slowly started drifting away. And I'd say that drifting away was slowly in the fifties. So, you know, always there was probably every year, a 5 or 6% or 3% loss of people moving away from the R.M. And it increased probably in the fifties. And in the reverse direction, just like that puzzle, unbuilding itself. The post office died down and that was a sharp little pain. In the last two years the post office went away. The Shoprite Store moved to Blaine Lake to a larger center. The bar's still there. And the two, three general stores, the billiard store closed down in the sixties, two stores died down in the sixties. And the eighties, the last general store closed down. And now the post office replaced us with just plain green boxes.

And we've been fighting to keep the elevator open here and you know, Sask. Wheat Pool is going to close down the last elevator in Krydor here in the next year I think.

This same farmer also commented on changes occurring in Hafford:

[At Christmas] we carolled for the church in Hafford. And one of the people I was with carolling mentioned that there's a lot of houses for sale in Hafford, which is true. And we were talking about it last night, why are those houses for sale. A lot of people have died. They lived there, they don't want to move away. Their kids are moved away to the large cities, gotten jobs and probably doing better jobs then they could have at farming. You know, looking at with the prices these days and the life.

Another farmer, from the Alberton district, explained:

But nothing you can do about it. Well there is no industry. The businesses are folding up because ... so who's going to stay around? You've got to work someplace. You cannot afford to buy land to farm because there is no government or no financial institution going to lend you, let's say, a young 20 year old person, there is no way he's going to get $100,000 to start farming right now. And right now would be the time to get young farmers out onto the land, give them the chance to learn, tutor him along, show him how it's to be done. This is the time to do it because right now it's low and it's most probably going to get lower yet, the price of farming. But, if we are not going to do nothing about it now, the trend will continue. The old people dying off and the younger ones are getting busier. They have to farm more, have more work at home. So the community suffers for that reason. There is not enough ... And that's the way it goes. And the community suffers. The quality of life suffers. And eventually that is going to trickle down to provincial and federal problems. And I got another five years or ten maybe they are going to have to do something about it because it's not going to continue very long that way. It just can't. You can't have the entire Saskatchewan population living in one centre. That's impossible.

5. THE TOWN ECONOMY

5.1 Present Businesses and Employment

At latest count, Hafford has a total of twenty-five businesses, excluding government and medical services, employing sixty people (full or part time), out of an estimated labour force of 185 (112 males and 80 females). These businesses are (with number of employees indicated): a building contractor (4), one plumbing and heating (5), one painting and decorating (1), an electrical (2), a carpentry business (2), three bulk oil distributors (6), a lumber yard (4), a hardware store (3), one farm equipment sales (1), two grocery stores (9), three service stations (7), a family clothing store (3), a couple of cafes (5), a pharmacy (3), two beauty parlors (2), a barbershop (1), a radio-t.v. repair shop (1), one hotel (1), and a poolhall (1). In addition, half a dozen people are employed in government offices, e.g. by the town, R.M., province, or post office. At least a dozen teachers are employed in the grade 1-12 school. Hafford has one resident physician, several nursing staff in the hospital and nursing home, and at the time of the study anticipated acquiring a dentist. There is one resident lawyer.

In commercial terms Krydor has already become virtually a ghost town. The only sign of any life in the village is a pub, the New Horizon Centre for seniors, and a general store which opens occasionally. A hardware store, poolhall, general merchant, and service station are still identifiable but abandoned; another five businesses are in such a state of disrepair that they are not identifiable.

5.2 Turnover in Businesses

Detailed records of ownership and type of business were gathered and

studied for thirty-four business locations in Hafford, in order to determine the longevity and rate of turnover for various businesses. Difficult as it is to summarize our rather complex findings, we can derive several generalizations from these findings. At nine of these locations, the first business began in 1913; five began between 1918 and 1928; three during the '30s; eight in the '40s; three in the '50s; one in the '60s; three in the '70s; and two since 1980. (That is to say, business first commenced at the location at that time.) Most of these business locations have changed hands several times over the years. Just to cite some examples, the present clothing store has had six previous owners, both grocery stores at least four, the lumber yard three, the hotel six, the liquor store five, three service stations from three to five, one cafe ten previous owners since 1913, the other eleven just since 1957. The changes in ownership have been due to insufficient business, ageing (previous owner dying or retiring), the building burning down (at least half a dozen instances) of this happening were recorded), personal reasons such as marital problems, or simply the former owners moving away. In perhaps half of the locations studied, the type of business had changed one or more times. By far the most rapid turnover was in the restaurant business, which had changed hands every two or three years on average, or even several times in a single year! However, both cafes are still busy. The most recent instance of businesses closing completely were service stations; one was terminated in 1977, another in 1985, a third in 1987. Also along Railway Ave. four out of the five grain elevators have closed permanently or been destroyed, so has a bulk oil station.

5.3 Prognosis: Residents' Attitudes

Will business in Hafford survive? For how long? Several of the local residents voiced their concerns:

First, the mayor discussed the difficulty both in maintaining existing business and in attracting new owners:

> We would like to get into some industry if possible, we have looked into getting somebody interested in a service station or a garage. One thing we are lacking is a mechanic in our town. And a good service station on the highway with a regular car wash and laundry mat and stuff like that. There's also potential for a good bakery for the size of area we have. It would do well, but with the economic outlook right now it's pretty hard to get anybody interested, with the tight money situation with the farmers and everybody else. So things are kind of at a standstill. We would like to see some interested individuals to come in. I'm sure that would never lose in this situation. Our merchants that we have are getting up in age and we hope we don't lose them. [We've got to] get some younger people interested in coming in and taking over. Because you know the town itself is about 75% older people and we hope that we could interest some industry to come, and get employment, and get the young kids that grow up here to stay and have a job in line here. But it's like I say, it's pretty hard to convince somebody to spend their money in a smaller centre.
>
> I personally don't like the hours of shopping in the big cities now, what they are doing. This Sunday shopping. They are destroying the small communities and they are destroying smaller business within cities themselves. I think the government should put a stop to all this nonsense of having these big chain stores take over and destroy our way of life in our rural communities. What is going to happen as soon as the big corporations get rid of the smaller community stores and corner stores, then they are going to have a very big price increase and they are going to hold it there. Eventually the small businessman couldn't very well exist with their competition. What will generally happen if anybody does tend to, during the next four or five years down the road, open up a small business, the big corporations will have the power to undercut them so bad that they won't last for a year or six months. They'll just drive them out and they'll have the handle on the whole system.

Yes, we have to realize also it's not that the people are in business for a big profit; they are there also as a convenience to the public; eventually if the trends continue, people move to the cities, shopping, they will have to go and get a loaf of bread or a quart of milk and drive 40 or 60 miles. It's not going to be a very paying proposition, while you're destroying your own community. We stress the public, we have our "shop locally" signs; hopefully the public will take note of that and shop locally. Price wise there isn't much difference in price in the city and in our town. There's a substantial difference in freight trade between the cities and the distance to Hafford.

We could in an area like ours we also could use a farm machinery dealership, but being always that the threat that smaller communities are closing up, it's almost impossible for anybody to try and start anything in that line. And being that all these machinery companies as well are amalgamating (John Deere's buying out Versatile, and so on Case with National) pretty soon there'll be just two big companies, no competition and they will have a stronghold in the city and if that don't work out they'll move further back. They are not going to spread their smaller dealerships because they are out there to make the dollars. They don't particularly care whether they hurt the farmer or [farmers] have to go 200 miles or 300 miles for repairs or service. But they're pretty well on shaky ground too. Because once the farmer doesn't have the dollars, then neither does anybody else. It all reflects to the whole economy.

I remember years back in town there was four grocery stores. You know, they made a living. Everyone made a living, cooperating. That has changed now really, it went down too, the grocery and the meat markets. But we still have them, that's the main thing, hope to keep them in a stable condition. Because we can't afford to lose any merchants or any store to close because that would be a real downgrade to the town. So we will hopefully get new faces into town with the businessman and get together because, like I say, there's a couple of older storekeepers that wouldn't mind selling out but there's nobody has got enough of the finances to take over.

It's the same thing with the grocery stores and our hardware and clothing store. As soon as there is a population increase, that creates activity and movement. As soon as there is more people, there is

> more shopping so they hire more people, you know, that's the way it'll work. But if it's going to be depleting [the reverse] happens. If our population increases or we have additional business come in, there's always more people and more people create more work ... extra teachers hired, and extra nurses or whatever with families you create, so there is immediate input to the business, and they'll need to hire one or two and that's the way it carries on. That's the way you create employment. I'd like to see that happen very much. I'm a believer also that people at the age of 65 should make way for our younger generation to go into the labour force. As soon as they reach that 65 they should be getting out of the work and let the younger generation take over. That's the only way to create employment for the younger generation, instead of welfare, give them work. that's what they want. I'm sure all those young people that are out there, they don't want welfare, they want to work. They can't work if somebody old gets in there, 65, 70 working and not giving that opportunity for the younger people to work. I'm strictly against that. I'd prefer to see that if the governments would change, instead of giving to the social program to give it to earlier retirement to the age of 60 and give the younger people a chance. They are not given a chance to get out there when all the staff is older people. So I strictly believe in that way of going - to lower retirement to the age of 60 and get the younger people up. Give them the opportunity and give them a chance to work.

The mayor summarized his argument, his prognosis for the future of business in Hafford by making four key points: First, a place must be created to employ young people. Second, the community - and similar rural service centres - should be advertised to attract industry, on the principle that it's cheaper for an industry to locate here (with reference to land costs, taxation, and labour); Hafford must become an industrial base. Third, the governments should support decentralization policies. Fourth, a community - or several communities together - could create an economic development corporation, perhaps with representation - for example - trade fairs, in order to attract industry and services

(however the mayor stressed that limited financial and personnel rescurces make this very difficult to realize).

A businessman in Hafford commented:

> In the past 20 years, well, they've had a few more houses being built. But we have had a decline in the number of business places. Population has aged. There's a few less businesses. What would I say that's due to? Well ... actually the two major businesses, the two that come to mind, are the two grocery stores. When I came to town there were four. All were small, family run types of businesses. And what's happened is that, a family member dies, and they dispose of the stock and close it up. It perhaps wasn't really a viable operation in the first place. So I would think that perhaps the grocery stores that are here are bigger and more efficient then the ones that were here before. Certainly service stations and that sort of thing, and there was a couple others as well, have shut down. One burned down. And I think perhaps people travelled a little bit more and maybe shopped elsewhere. That's a factor.
>
> Well, I think eventually the population will dwindle to some degree. I can't see any other way unless some sort of industry sets up where you have a payroll and a young working group of people in that industry. I can't see any other way. Or if something happens and there is an increased business in town or increased number of consumers in town, or tourism or whatever. I can't see any over the long term, you know, it may be a long time, but I think in the long run there will be a general decline as is there is in the rural population today. As a rule there is a general decline in rural population and there has been for the last number of years.

Farmers do use the town, and are aware that it helps to support local business in return for convenience, but that little employment is available. One farmer from the Orolow district told us:

> What does Hafford offer as far as farm services?
>
> You've got to haul your grain. You could haul your grain to Hafford. You've got to buy some fertilizer, you can buy your fertilizer in Hafford, no problem. You've got to buy some groceries, you go to Hafford to buy groceries. We just went to Hafford we bought some groceries, lots and lots. We feel Hafford's got

> it. You need your little baby checked because your little baby's got the measles, you go to Hafford to the doctor. Need a new pair of boots, shoes, go to Hafford. You can go to Saskatoon. But you can also go to Hafford, Hafford they've got it all, just about everything. Oh, there's certain services that Hafford doesn't have. You can get better services in the city, but it's still there and you want to try to support the local business, because they are local and it helps the quality of the town.
>
> What do I think can be done in Hafford, I don't know, to conjure up some employment for the young people? boy I wish knew that. That would be great, to keep the young people around. Well, there's a lot of people around here who don't want to work for $900 a month, $800 a month. I don't know. It's hard to find a job. It's just the type of setting that you are in. Where would the employment be? There is no mining. There is no lumbering. There is no oil. It's basically a grain, beef, agricultural related community. So most of the jobs lie around agriculture, or with the local businesses, or working with the rural municipality. That's about it for businesses or working at the Lake. That's how you get a job, or secretarial work in one of the businesses or hospital. Conjure up a job - try and get a job in Hafford, well, ... carpentry maybe, you could build somebody a house. But then you know, why should Kuzak lumber man there hire you on if he can do the job or his son can do it? I suppose part time work, there always is part time work in the summer. Like maybe the lumber yard could hire a carpenter on or the hospital could use some extra staff during the peak times or the train company could use some extra staff during the peak times. And I'm sure they do, but it's part time work. It's usually for a single person,a person that can move around just like a gypsy. But for a couple that wants to settle down, it's usually agriculture or business or other community related.

Krydor, however, has not fared so well. A rural serviceman in the Alberton-Kluzbowski district said:

> Krydor seems to have been taking a real loss lately. Krydor cannot survive on account of Hafford being the bigger town and Blaine Lake. And the school and everything in those two other towns. Krydor cannot survive when it comes to centralization. Krydor used to be pretty big, though. Three garages, four stores, a cafe, a poolroom, a hardware store, hotel, basket shop, telephone centre. What's left there now?

> The hotel. That's all there is left. That's all there is. No stores, nothing. There's only about three full houses or four.

Nor do the elderly residents, who do a lot to support and patronize local shops in Hafford, seem optimistic. As one Polish Catholic woman formerly from the Sich district said, bluntly:

> They gain now, but I wonder for how long. Because they've gained population, they've gained a lot of old people, it will not last because the old people are going to die off. And then again we will not have so many people. The old storekeepers, they've been here for forty years. But once something will happen to them, will somebody be able to take over? The other day somebody told me that one of them will have to go because there isn't enough business in Hafford. She says the groceries are way higher than they are in the city. So they are going to the city.

Another elderly resident, formerly from the Krasne district, related the farm economy to a lack of business in town:

> What about the future of farming?
>
> It seems it will always be around-it has to,but there will be less farmers doing the same amount of work that many did before. That means a lot of unemployment and problems like that. Maybe even less people staying in small towns. If that happens it could be very bad because it's hard to operate a business when there is no one to support you. A town needs all the things like stores, services, schools and hospitals.

The youth also commented on the potential decline in town business. A French Catholic girl commented:

> Do I know a lot of people that are moving away?
>
> Yes. Like there's a family that moved here last year and they just couldn't make a success working her and making money. So they moved away cause there's no money in the community.
>
> There's lots of people that shop in cities and maybe if they spent more money in the community, it could help other businesses to come in. But, I don't blame people because ... maybe they don't have money to spend and it's more expensive to shop here so it's more convenient for them to buy in the city.

6. THE COUNTRY ECONOMY

6.1 The Changing Nature of Agriculture

As Anderson (1972) has explained, an important set of problems contributing to rural depopulation may be summed-up as disillusionment with prairie farming. The difficulty of good farming on such an extensive scale today cannot be overemphasized. The sophisticated prairie farmer must be something of an agronomist, knowing which crops are best for certain kinds of land, also when to seed and harvest; a capitalist, a shrewd dealer in loans and investments; a mechanic, capable of repairing as much as $70,000 worth of machinery; a political economist, familiar with international trade and market fluctuations; a meteorologist, understanding the vagaries of weather; a veterinarian, able to care for a diversity of livestock; a plant pathologist, treating crop diseases; a chemist, comprehending soil fertility levels, fertilizer formulae, herbicides, pesticides, fungicides, insecticide. During the past decade, farmers of the region became increasingly depressed over the high cost of good farmland, the relatively poor world markets for wheat, the federal government's encouragement of summer fallow and diversification rather than trade, the dwindling of small community life (ARDA, 1966). Nor does the physical environment offer much of an inducement to stay in farming in certain areas within the region. In general the soil capability ranges from moderate to moderately severe limitations, but there are small areas of severe to extremely severe limitations. Limitations include insufficient water holding capacity, inundation or flooding, erosion, stoniness, excess water, and hilly topography. Soils in the southern areas of the region are generally better than those in the wooded northern areas, but even

in the former some very poor soil types may be found. Moreover, the climate is rather prohibitive.

Nonetheless, Anderson has mentioned several qualifications:

> There are a number of noteworthy developments serving to resist rural depopulation. First, there is diversification of farming through conversion from too heavy a reliance on grains, especially wheat, to mixed farming with livestock and vegetable crops. Second, there is part-time farming found with relatively greater frequency in areas closets to large urban centres which provide readily accessible non-farm employment opportunities, and also found in areas with low agricultural potential where the need to supplement farm income is greatest. The development of better roads has greatly increased the possibility for part-time work off the farm and has extended the commutation area; physical distance from cities has not been as significant as distance in terms of travelling time. Third, part-time as well as full-time non-farm work in rural areas and augmented by the development of local industries and businesses, such as manufacturing factories, food processing plants, hospitals, banks, power stations, sawmills, mines. Fourth, there are isolated cases of exceptional local enterprise, such as cooperative alfalfa processing plants, contract harvesting, machine repair shops, and grid road construction business.

6.2 Impressions of Farmers and Other Local Residents

A young, enterprising farmer in the Orolow district reflected on the reasons for an exodus of farmers and the steady decline of the rural municipality population:

> Oh, yes it's changed. It always changes. The size of the farms have obviously increased. A lot of people have moved away. The past few years there's even been some bankruptcies. There was some that helped add to the problem of people moving away. Others have just seen that they can get a price for their land. A lot of people have grown old. [A neighbour] was getting older, getting 68 or 67 years old. And he put his land up for sale and he wanted to move away to the city. His daughter's husband encouraged him to quit farming really because it was just getting too hard for a 67 year old man if he isn't in the proper health to keep on working on the

> farm. And others have moved away. They just gotten old and they figured it was time to make a change in life. Move to the city. There's more conveniences, stores are closer, you don't have to worry about harsh winters out here. It's harder living out in the country. Like very week if you get a snow storm, you've got to clean the yard. It's harder. It's harder for old people to get around. I wouldn't blame them one bit for moving. Like a lot have moved to Hafford. A lot have moved to Blaine Lake. Krydor is a smaller town. They move to places where senior citizens are welcome and kind of taken care of a little bit better. In Hafford they built a senior citizens home. There's no reason why they won't want to go to Hafford, or Battleford, or Saskatoon. Bankruptcies, getting old. Don't want to farm. the kids don't want to farm. But you can also blame that back on some parents; some parents don't encourage the kids to farm. But how is that I got into farming? It was my decision. Because I liked it. I really liked it. It's something you just love. It's in the blood. I like getting up and the land smelling, the soil in spring time.

This young farmer laid considerable emphasis on the need for more farmers to be younger and more healthy.

> Which kind don't make it? In farming, anything can happen. A guy breaks his back, health reasons, you've got to be a healthy person to farm. I see more retirements then ever. There's a lot of old farmers, good farmers, retiring. They've got to retire - health reasons, old age reasons. We live in a cold climate. I bet you 80% of the population has got rheumatism or arthritis. Yes, there is going to be a lot more retiring.

Asked whether he thought it's harder to begin farming now than a couple of decades ago, he replied:

> Well, you have to take lots of things into consideration. The land prices, the machinery prices. All the ingredients that go into farming. The land prices have risen and dropped. Machinery prices right now are not bad for used machinery. You can get into farming for fairly cheap. hat's the truth. And in the last five years they have been good. Buying used machinery, you can get into farming probably, a decent little set up. Just straight grain farming, you can probably get in for under $80,000, under $50,000 depending. Now you're going to have to do your share of fixing and stuff.

> You know, if you are mechanically inclined, hopefully. Grain prices, well, that's another story. If you grow the right things and get into a specialized crop, like peas or lentils or canola seed or any that we call specialty crop, you have to invest money in different kinds of equipment. You have to get specialized equipment, and that costs money. Just like growing raspberries or Saskatoon berries, any kind of fruit farming. So there's extra money involved in that naturally. But, land prices, yes, machinery, input costs have gone up, fertilizer, seed prices. Yes, it is definitely harder to get in. And then who's going to back you up? What kind of bank is going to back you? What kind of loan agency is going to back you up when you got no collateral? If you're just a plain fellow out there, a young fellow who has come out of school, and try to get into farming, you're dad hasn't backed you up and you don't know nothing about farming. To get in you have to have some kind of relationship with a farm. You have to be a plumber, welder, a gardener, everything. You've got to be all kinds of things. A philosopher, you've got to be a million things. But hopefully it all turns out.

He stressed that good financial management was absolutely necessary for a farm to survive.:

> I know some young people who make poor managers. They've gone ahead and bought machinery at high prices, land at high prices, and it's backfired on them within two or three years later. They'er purchased way too much all at once. And then the banks don't help at all. I've heard of banks going ahead, they know that this fellow is deep in debt. They know because they've borrowed to him. They will see he's so deep in the hole. They'll bankrupt him and there's not much he can do about it. And he loses the farm. But why did he get into that situation - poor management. He shouldn't have been spending that kind of money. He knows the kind of money he is taking in. He knows how long it's going to take him to pay it off. He knows his father, or just look around at the community, look at the neighbours, look how long that farmer has been working, you know. That farmer has been working for 20 years or so to build up enough money in order to run hat type of tractor, to run that type of machinery, to own that much land. It's greed in a person. He wants to get rich all at once. It's greed. It's poor management. That's why a lot have gone belly up, as we call it. The managers will weed themselves out. It's just common sense that the poor

> mangers will weed themselves out. How can I explain that they won't make it? It doesn't take long. There's no other financial institution or loaners who's going to back you up. You've got to watch where you put your bucks and how you spend them.

He also stressed the close relationship between quality of land and farming techniques:

> The land right here, half is stony the other half towards the west towards the lake isn't as stony. In fact there is very few stones. With stones, it's more management, a lot more management. You have to have a lot more machinery. You have to have a good rock picker. You have to have an extra man on at spring time working the land beforehand, picking those rocks. The occasional pastures will be sand blown out and I put a lot of blame on that on the old farmers. A lot of farmers back years ago grew trees as a means of stopping erosion. And a lot of them didn't. A lot didn't learn their lesson. The soil is blown away and gone into the North Saskatchewan River, gone into some bushes some place and it's never going to be back where it is needed. Probably gone into waste lands or down into a river valley and it should have been kept on the land. That's another problem, the bush. The hills yield a little poor, we've got a little bit of flat land, a little bit. I wish we had some more but the hills yield a little poorer. Obviously if you've got sand, you're not going to make it as a grain farmer. If you've got nice black soil, the grain's going to grow better. Over the years, I've seen it down south, south of the pasture, thee is settlements there, people have come in and tried to farm. The history is all there. They came in with a new car and they left I don't now with what, maybe they left on horseback or something. Why, because it's the type of land they settled. They didn't know, they moved into rocks and sand. There was a bit of soil there, but you couldn't pull a plow through that soil to cultivate it. It's full of rocks. The poor people just came there and they just died. It just slowly died right down. They were probably at the end living on very little money, on very little income, probably moved away to the city and the husband got a job working on the railroad or digging ditches, anything just to make a life. It's even hard to maintain cattle on it. You have to have so many square miles to maintain just a few head because it's poor soil and it's sand. We're lucky in our area, right here where we are farming, we do have a lot of good land. And that's where most of the farms are. But to the south and to the west,

> it's a lot of sand. And then there's the areas that get better. Straight south of us there is some excellent, probably some of the best farm land in Saskatchewan. And to the north east of us, Blaine Lake is one of the best soil producing areas probably in Saskatchewan.

Moreover, this farmer emphasized the need for agricultural diversification:

> Before, if grain prices went up and land prices dropped, well sure everybody would start farming again. If the price of pork went up there might be some more pork producers. It's a funny things in this R.M., you know, there isn't a lot of people haven't adapted. It's a bad problem, a lot of people haven't. In our case, we adapted, we rented seed, growing registered seed and you worked that extra bit harder, just like raising cattle or keeping any other occupation like logging or trucking. You've got that much extra input. Hopefully in the end you do get your money's worth out of it and you do make a couple extra bucks to help keep the farm - the basic farm earning. Just south of here is Great Bend a lot of farmers switched over to port. They've got to build better buildings, because they've got to spend that much more money but you've got to invest money in order to make money. It's that age gap. The younger people are scared to spend that money. Over on Great Bend a lot of people just had to diversity. One guy trucked for a few years. The other guy started on the piggery. That's why a lot of people quit, a lot of people left the R.M. in the last fifteen years because pork prices dropped. So that was also a factor that didn't help. There was the age factor. There was a drop in prices and a lot of people left. I've heard of a few neighbours are into purchasing more cattle, keeping more cattle. They could diversity. People could grow onions, vegetables, they just don't want to do it. They're older, they don't want to start learning. It's hard to teach an old dog new tricks. And a lot of the younger people have moved away to that's a problem. They farmed, they [another neighbour] quit farming when they got older and they still ran the store. He pumped gas and sold oil and sold groceries and propane and anything he could sell in order to make just a couple extra bucks.

What, this farmer was asked, has been the quality of life for farmers like himself?

I just hear an interview - they asked well how did the people react from the big cities about farmers? Now I heard there is a 120,000, maybe it's 100,000 farmers in Western Canada. We get these big multi-billion dollars stabilization payments. We must have money galore. You drive around in your tractor and sit around. You know, in some cases, I don't blame some people for saying that. Because I do know of some farmers who give that impression. Who actually do farm like that. And I know of some farmers at the very other end of the scale, who seldom go to town, who seldom drive in a brand new truck, who barely ever seen much of anything and they are working just as hard as the guy in that shiny new piece of machinery. It's somebody who, as I mentioned before, who doesn't know their occupation, seeing somebody in a $100,000 piece of machinery driving around the fields and he's got money galore. There's a lot of poor people. What else could I tell you about how people perceive the farmer? Well dad's retired, and we rented out the farm because Johnny didn't want to keep on farming because Johnny had a job in town, or Johnny had a good job at the mine or Johnny had a job in Alberta, someplace, where ever, doing what ever. And we rented out the farm and the neighbour took it over and he's farming the land now, but he's still paying us for rent of the land. You know, that's the usual story. I think the attitudes have changed over the years. Oh farmers have got air-conditioned tractors. Well you know, that's an old story. Now you go out in that field sometimes when it's 100 above and you work in a tractor cab. The first reason for a cab was to keep out the air, so you could live a better quality of life, instead of breathing dust. And the air-conditioner was put on there so you could live in that cab when it's a 110 above. You're cooking in that cab so you put air-conditioning in their.

What can I tell you about the quality of life on a farm?

Well, quality of life, [my wife] likes it. In town you can yell and scream and all the neighbours can hear you. You say something and the whole own knows.

How do you think that will stay? You think it will keep on being a good quality of life?

Right now, on our farm, the quality of life, it'll stay that way because we want it to stay that way. Because we want to farm, because we want to have that quality. I don't want to come home at night and sit in a cold house and have no T.V. I want to have a

humidifier so you can breath and I want to have a plant on the table. I want to have a good life. And I want to have another little girl and a little boy. That'll be plenty.

Well to young people who do take up farming, who really do get into farming, I don't know, in my situation I would have to do a lot of thinking. It's a stressful life and there's a lot of times that things don't work the way you want it to. You've got to work, that's right. The money will be there. We are not every going to starve, you know, we'll always keep some chickens. And we always keep a couple pigs, and there will always be a big fat beef there. We'll survive, don't worry. The farmer will survive. He's not going to have no table to eat on but he'll survive.

We also interviewed a poorer, older farmer in the Alberton district. It is interesting to compare his views with those of the younger, more affluent farmer. Some of his comments:

I would say the prices increased roughly about four to five fold in just fifteen years.

Yes, in fifteen years. Well my total investment when I started out here, came out to about $25,000 to $30,000. Right now to start farming on the same scale as I am now, you would have to have anywhere from $75,000 to $90,000. Right here, and it is not good land, just marginal land for farming. You can't go strictly grain, or you can't go strictly cattle. You have to have both.

Yes, I diversified. I've always had cattle. And up and down, you have to have both, otherwise with this marginal land area you cannot survive as a farmer.

I believe that [the increase in prices] goes back to miscalculation on the government, plus financial institutions. Because if you go back, you don't have to go back that far, you could borrow money to start farming, any amount. There was no set limit on it. As long as you could prove that you were going to have the cash turnover. And everybody wanted to get into big and wanted to get into too fast.

Oh, yes, there is quite a few of them. I knew one personally. He moved out here and he just couldn't believe the low prices. So he went big, but he didn't take into account the productivity of the land.

Oh, naturally that's important. You can spend a lot of money and you can have a good investment, but what you have on paper and what mother nature will provide you is two different things. This is a harsh climate. It's suited for only a certain type of crops and if you don't take it into account you do run into financial trouble pretty fast.

And it seems like people whose farms ... when I got married twenty years ago, around here the average farmer was one-half to three-quarter section. Right now anybody who has got a section of land, like myself, is a small farmer; it's not viable. And what helped to bring that on is the financial institutions and the government. Because they were escalating the living standard awfully fast and the good part of the population and the economy couldn't keep up to what they were demanding from the economy. As far as I'm concerned, that's when a lot of the problems came in.

The young population ... anybody who's got any amount of money under fifty years of age is not a farmer now and he's not going to go into farming. It's a bad business, high risk and there is no return. So the farming population is going to keep continuing to drop. One of the reasons is because there is no money in it and there is no proper living in it. That is not sufficient living standard at this stage unless you can go very very big. And if you do go very very big, you're not going to get your money back.

So, I think, there's pretty well minimal success.

A lot depends on your expectations. Like I'm not satisfied with the way I am now. But I still say that I am much better off then a lot of other people in Canada. So I shouldn't be complaining too much. But it's not as successful as I would like it to be.

For the simple reason, the farms are getting bigger, they're getting bigger crops, they're getting more crops.

Krydor is really dramatically changed over the last few years.

That's right. Krydor is dwindling. Krydor is one step back. There is the school closed up. There is the grocery stores closed up. The population over there, old age pensioners and people who stayed around there they have slowly died off. And there's not enough new people coming into that place.

That is part of a larger trend. I think that is countrywide. I'm such that it's not just Saskatchewan, not just Redberry but I'm sure that it's in Alberta, it's in Manitoba, and what causes it - years ago it was always local economy. Now we are in worldwide economy. So it's hard to say, but it does have a great effect on what's happening out here. And until we can replace the population, on way or the other, this trend is going to continue.

How do I think people today perceive farmers?

If you go into the cities, where I used to work I still got the idea, well here comes the dumb farmer. But anybody with a small amount of business experience and even a grade twelve education going into the service sector now, they do consider the farmer as the slippery, loud mouth, bellyaching guy coming along. In one respect like they say the backbone of the economy. But if you go to Saskatoon or Regina, you feel like you have been getting looks already. That comes through very clearly with the local programs from Saskatoon on television and on the radio. If you go to the smaller centre, they still hold the farmers in fairly high regard. If you go to the bigger centres over there, they look at you like here comes that dumb farmer.

But Saskatoon, that's a different way of looking at things. They think that they can survive without the farmers now in Saskatoon, which I doubt very much. But they do think that they can survive without the farming here for the economy in Saskatoon? It's not a very widely held view but you do go and talk to a few of those people that have money here and more business experience and they think farming is just an icing on the cake; we can survive without it. That's the way they look at it.

It's just a matter of time before the farming population, the actual farmers, who's making a living just out of strictly farming is dropping. And it's just a matter of time before we get to the point where they are going to turn very modern. And they are going to wind up having, in Canada, a small group of very modern farmers. Saskatchewan has round about sixty to sixty-five thousand farmers right now. God help the government when we are going to have 40,000 because they are going to turn very militant. And I say, we are going to want this and we are going to get it or otherwise we shoot everything down. And the small militant group like that, they can do it. By that time the farm's going to be big enough that

they can turn around and shut everything down for two months. And I like to see, who ever is going to legislate them back to work?

Do I think that there is a difference among the type of farming and the success of farmers in the different areas within the R.M.?

No I don't really believe so. Depends on the land, the better land the farmers do better, they do spend more and they are more outgoing. But by nature and by behaviour, I don't believe there is a lot of difference.

I believe that financially institutions and government and particularly the Department of Agriculture made a big mistake when they came up with the cash flow farming. If they would have stuck with the old style, every year I'm going to balance my earnings, and I balance my spending. And if the spending is higher than earning is, I'm in trouble. That's the first rule. And that's where a lot of financial institutions, which the younger farmers - the aggressive farmers - which were supposed to take over from us older guizers - got into it, but they got into it with the wrong idea. They didn't have the right tutoring or right education, or a right warning or what every you want to call it. And that was the problem, they got too anxicus.

I would say - caution, more common sense, before you do something you stop and think if it's possible and if it's worthwhile and if it's worth the risk. So it's just the common sense approach, I would say.

What can I see for the future in the R.M. - future life in the R.M.?

Well, what I'm hoping for is more young farmers and I believe that the R.M. is going to be around one way or the other for the simple reason on the north half we do have mixed farming and we can grow grain reasonably well and we can grow really good cattle. But down south they can grow really good grain so the R.M. will be around in one form or the other. Most likely the farmers going to be a lot bigger. Social wise, I think it is going to keep deteriorating because of the population drop. It's most likely there will be a lot less people. And let's face it, right now the young farmer he wants his three bedroom home, running water, some of them even want the satellite, the car for the wife and the half ton for me and the big truck. Nowadays, we're not satisfied anymore. When you want more things you have to have

a bigger land base to do it in, to support it. So who to blame it on, I don't know, it could be the farmers themselves, they got too greedy too fast.

Other respondents provided interesting comments of the changing agricultural economy in the area and in general.

An elderly Polish Catholic woman from the Sich district:

As far as farming is concerned, well I think farming is a very wonderful life. But will we be able to keep it? That's a big question. Because even how we're trying to keep now our land, where we're having a very very hard time to pay.

I think it's becoming so difficult though.

Because a very high interest. I'll give you an example. We bought a quarter of land. It was $30,000. And I would say it's about seven years and we paid $4,000 yearly and last year we got a statement that we still owe $28,000. At $4,000 a year it was keeping quite well going. If it was just that only farm it would be all right. But then there is everything. Like we've got so many payments to make. And equipment like a combine and it's used - it's $37,000 and he's got his truck. And he makes ... he's got to make $2,500 payment and there's all the other ... like you know ... the fuel and everything. Then at the same time, the cost of groceries are so high. The cost of power and everything. And he puts everything into the bank and we have a hard time making payments, that's why I don't know. My husband feels that a few years back, though our interests were higher, our wheat was selling at $5.00 and it was easier for him to make payments then now because it's selling for only $2.00.

Yes, that's a crime almost.

And sometimes I wonder what will happen when all those farmers will leave all that land. Is there jobs for them?

I don't know, there seem to be a trend towards bigger farms, huge farms and the smaller farmer can't make it.

Another thing, why do we need such big farms?

Well because there is a greed in us. We don't need such big farms, you know. Let's give each farmer, let's even given them each ten quarters - that's

lots, but not thirty. Like they can do everything; like a farmer he's a mechanic, he's a carpenter, he's a plumber, a business man and at the same time, from the farm there's so many jobs. He keeps the elevator, he keeps the railway, he keeps on and on and on, all the people [who] are working [due to farmers].

So many depend on him.

If I had to live over again I would still choose the land. I would, because I loved the land, I love the free place itself. I'm very saddened because I've never had any money. I don't have money now. Like now I have $20.00 that has to last me to about the end of this month. So I told my husband, "You do something because $20.00 is not going to get me no place". But I think too the city has the same problems. Not all people, but a lot of poor people. And I'm saddened for the youth.

The young people depend on the farming in here and if the farming will not turn better financially or better economically they can't hold on.

That's the reason they keep leaving.

We run how many vehicles? How many tires do we need? How many batteries do we need? How many repairs do we need? And it just seems like there's never enough money left for ourselves. Like ok, I'm 56 years and my husband is 71, we've never had a holiday.

Oh, also in our area everybody was looking for a little bit more richer life, a better life. Well our country, as you have known, is very hard in farming, we have so much rock.

It's not the best land.

No, it's not bad soil if we didn't have all those stones.

An elderly Ukrainian Catholic man from the Krasne district:

How has farming changed?

So much. Equipment, money, time, size of farms. The idea is the same -- to grow food - but I think that's about all. Before you could do good with just one tractor and a plough. Not now. It's very costly to set up and worse to keep going.

A French Catholic youth in Hafford:

Well, farmers probably have [changed a lot]. Their crops are going bad. And you know, they just sort of give up. And because of the kids moving away and less farms. Like everyone's giving up except the rich farmers.

A Ukrainian Catholic youth in Hafford:

A lot of farmers are going bankrupt. What do I attribute that to?

People trying to get too big too fast. It's like, guys that need big full tractors and 120 foot cultivators and that, they could have used equipment half that size. Oh they went out and bought it every year, you know, being big wheels. Now they're paying for it. They have paid for it or else they are bankrupt. One of the two. That stuff doesn't come cheap.

[The farming in this area is] mostly mixed farming. Right now with the cattle being so high price and the grain being so low. A lot of guys are more towards the cattle - into ranching, if you want to put it that way. But, with the amount of acres still planted, still cultivated, grain farming is still a big thing. And these farmers tried to dip their hand into both areas. And a lot of them want too much one way, by raising too many cattle or, you know, feed lots and that. And some of them went the other way like I said buying too big equipment, putting too much acres in and having it hailed on or frozen. You know, like most of the time it's just poor management. Sometimes they go bankrupt because of natural causes, if you want to put it that way. Their crops didn't make it or there wasn't enough rain, something like that. So it's not all poor manageability. Don't think that.

A rural serviceman in the Alberton-Kluzbowski district:

The farmers are declining. The middle size farmers cannot operate because the grain is too cheap, equipment is too expensive. All the expenses are too high compared to the income. The only cash crop is rape or canola. And they cannot operate on $5.00 a bushel for that either. Wheat at $2.00 a bushel does not cover their gas expense, their fertilizer, which is at $400 a ton, chemicals, gasoline all their equipment is higher priced then ever before. Yet, their income is a lot less and due to the decline in the farmer group the service man has to suffer some of the consequences too. Either he has to stay with

the prices too high so farmers can't make their payments, can't pay their bills. That's why some storekeepers are going under and businessmen. In my span of being a serviceman I have lost many customers due to them being unable to pay me or can't operate period.

So what kind of a farmer survives?

The very small one. Or the very one that had money before our economy started going down. Old established farmers, if they have anything from before, are trying to make it through now. The young farmer, if he invested $150,000 into land and $150,000 into equipment, cannot survive. The interest will kill, will choke him. The government, even though they subsidize the farmer, the interest will not let them make it. Parts are being sold at a far higher rate then a few years ago. Because they cannot trade their tractors for new equipment, they have to try and fix the old equipment. It's the same with cars and trucks. Dealerships are suffering. Some of them in Battleford are trying to stay with an agricultural dealership and a care dealership in order to make ends meet. Because farmers are not buying neither cars nor trucks nor agricultural equipment. But the only farmers that are going to make it is the ones that have the money before and are well established.

What about starting up a new farm?

If it's handed down from the father, the son, yes. If it isn't, then the young farmer cannot borrow enough money to start one on a big scale. Farm Federal Corporation has declined many farmers their money because they cannot pay the interest back. The loans are due and they still have not paid the interest, not only the principal.

So, .what would I say about that in relation to the current trend of fewer smaller farms and more vast large diversified farms?

If, for example, there's many neighbours here that have four quarters of land all paid for. Their equipment is in good repair. They can last another year to two years without having to draw from their savings. The big farmer has to depend on a big cash flow. But he cannot get enough money from a twenty bushel acre crop to make all his payments. this past fall the farmers were telling me that they lost $16.00 per acre on any crop at all. Because they paid out more for fertilizer, taxes than their income

is. So they are losing $16.00 per acre.

That is the big farmers. The small farmer, who has farmed with small equipment, is not losing because he is not using fertilizer, not using spray. All the other expensive stuff. So he is staying on an even keel. And mostly he is depending on cattle, which are high priced this year, using his crop for feed.

Mostly they are middle-sized farmers [in this district]. And they are the same as any other place. They are worried about what's going to happen this year with the economy. And they are spending very little money. They are not really extravagant with all their money.

Is the farmland of any better quality?

Yes, it is better than what is at Oscar Lake. But it still cannot produce enough to give them a complete living at the price of grain. The farmer with cattle will make it; the one with just straight grain is going to be suffering for a long time yet.

Would diversity help?

Yes, by all means. Pig farming, cattle farming, half grain farming I'm talking about. Be it peas, beans, lentils, that sort will make it in the future and if they can get any money they will repair tractors and vehicles and it will boost the income of the towns as well. Otherwise the towns will die if the farmers go to the big cities for all their products. The little towns will die.

There seems to be a great reduction in the number of farm families. At leas tin marginal areas of the R.M. And yet there are a number of families that are willing to hand the farm down to a younger son or younger brother. Is there any sort of correlation between the ratio of young men compared to young farm wives?

Well, even if the farm is handed down the person cannot make a living at it. Because of the way the structure is. If the father hands the farm down to the son, he's got to pay capital gains on it. You cannot really give the son a start because he's got to pay the gain then. So in order to make money he's got to start big. And in order to start big, he's got to borrow. So instead they go to the city and look for a job, hoping they will make it easier than what farming is and the decline will keep going until either the farms are bought over by the government or

the cities are too full of people, so that somebody's got to start farming. Agriculture is still our basis.

The Mayor of Hafford:

But these strikes keep hanging on to the farmers. If it's not Thunder Bay, it's Vancouver. And it's always punishing the farmer for no reason. Being based as a farming community here I feel there should be some sort of force put on these labour unions, in particular, when you are losing money and losing your trades with other countries, where the farmers are suffering at the moment very bad, they are still going into strike is very unfair. I think you know they have to pay ships waiting, and the farmers losing every day, losing thousands and thousands of dollars per hour on account of foolishness. Like that's where our federal governments should step in much quicker and get them back to work.

How are their losses affecting Hafford:

Well if they hadn't got the quotas, they have no money, they can't sell the grain. Not only that the prices are low but when it comes and they have to sell that grain to other countries before the Wheat Board deducts freight rates and the handling charges, the farmers has nothing left over to give the Wheat for final payment. Like I suppose this year, I haven't hear directly, but it's going to be something like two cents a bushel for payment. So you don't get very much for your final payment in wheat. And it's during these hard times these things the federal government should look into.

Instead of letting it ride for such a long period of time and losing more money for farmers. So naturally it would be a factor in rural areas. I don't say only rural areas. North Battleford is suffering, so is Saskatoon. They feel the effect of the farmers not having the money to go and do their business.

Finally, a businessman in Hafford:

As far as the rural population declining, what would I attribute that to?

Well, better and more efficient farming methods. One farmer can farm as much land in one day, he can cultivate as much land in one day as it took a man to do with a smaller piece of equipment a lot longer to do it. I know I saw a cultivator a fellow had and it was eight feet wide and it was parked in his yard

there, you know it's kind of an antique because you used to haul those around with a Massey 44 tractor. And now they are hauling cultivators that are five and six times bigger than that. I think that's the major thing ... it's attrition. Some younger type farmers want to get bigger and an older type farmer wants to retire. That's what happens. It's attrition I think. It's a natural thing.

7. CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

This section of the community study focuses on several aspects of community life in Hafford and area: ethnicity and religion, associations and organization, public services, and schools; and discusses how rural decline may affect theses.

7.1 Ethnicity and Religion

The ethnoreligious composition of the town and region seems to have remained relatively stable over the years. In Hafford the combined Ukrainian-Polish proportion has decreased slightly; for example, it was about 88% in 1961 and 78% in 1971. Moreover, gradually French families have been replaced by Ukrainian or Polish in the rural districts where French settlers originally concentrated (although French farmers are still found scattered though these districts). The 1971 census data, based on a 33.3% sample, provide a more accurate - if dated - count of ethnicity than 1981 data, based on a weaker 20% sample:

TABLE 3-4:

Ethnic Proportions in Redberry R.M., Hafford and Krydor, 1971

	Total Pop	Ukrainian	Polish	French	Anglo	All Other
Redberry R.M.	1010 100%	590 58.4%	185 18.3%	95 9.4%	20 2.0%	120 11.9%
Village of Hafford	585 100%	420 71.8%	35 6.0%	15 2.6%	65 11.1%	50 8.5%
Village of Krydor	130 100%	115 88.5%	10 7.7%	— —	— —	— —

A 1980 voters list for the region gave this profile:

Ukrainian	586	65.8%
Polish	104	11.7
French	97	10.9
Anglo	51	5.7
German	27	3.0
Other	26	2.9
Total	891	100.0

Of course, demographic data do not necessarily inform us about the actual strength of ethnicity. Anderson's earlier (1972) study of the Redberry Ukrainian-Polish settlements, and several publications derived from this study (Anderson, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979), provide ample detail. Anderson noted a sharp decline in the proportion of Ukrainian-origin population in Saskatchewan able to speak Ukrainian, e.g. from 94% in 1941 to 87% in 1951, 85.1% in 1961, and only 62.1% in 1971, yet he also noted that within Ukrainian rural settlements the proportions were significantly higher. Among his respondents, he found that virtually all could speak Ukrainian or Polish, however 62.6% of the Ukrainian Orthodox actually were using Ukrainian "fairly often", compared to 68.8% of the Ukrainian Catholics, while 86.7% of the Polish Catholics were using Polish; moreover only a small proportion - 6.0% of Ukrainian Orthodox, 3.2% of Ukrainian Catholics, and 6.7% of Polish Catholics - could speak only their native languages and virtually no English. The Ukrainian Catholic respondents on the whole attended their church more regularly (81.8%) than did Ukrainian Orthodox (69.9%) or Polish Catholics (53.3%). But if age and generation of the respondents were taken into consideration, some interesting insights into social change could be noted. There was a sharp decline in emphasis of ethnic identity retention for all three groups from older age cohorts down to

younger, just as there was from first generation through to third; moreover there was a marked decline in opposition both to ethnic and to religious intermarriage. In sum, younger, third or fourth generation residents of Ukrainian or Polish origin seem to have become far less conservative of their traditional ethnoreligious identification than previous generations or older aged predecessors. This could be done, in part perhaps, to the effect which rural depopulation has had on the decline, better yet the complete eradication, of localized community life in outlying districts where ethnicity and religion used to permeate every aspect of life. Among other factors, the consolidated schools policy meant that how young people of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds would interact like their predecessors had never had an opportunity to do.

One very obvious indication of the affect of rural depopulation has been the decline in membership in churches in the region. This decline has been most pronounced in outlying rural districts: among Ukrainian Catholic parishes, Alberton has fallen from 50 members in 1961 to only about eight families today, Orolow from 60 to 28 members, Uhrynow from 60 to 20, Welechko from 50 to 7. Sich had thirty members in 1961, only four by 1972, so it was closed. Assumption of St. Mary Orthodox parish has lost more than half its members; fewer than twelve families remain. The Roman Catholic parish of Orolow now has only eight families, Alberton (Holy Ghost) only four, Alberton-Bear Lake (St. Jean Baptiste) very few. Nor have the centralized parishes in the town of Hafford or village of Krydor necessary grown as the parishes out in the country have closed or dwindled. In Hafford the Ukrainian Catholic parish has declined from 440 members in 1961 to 110 today; the Ukrainian Orthodox

parish has lost half of its members (eighty families in 1961); while the Roman Catholic parish seems to be holding its own. In Krydor, the Ukrainian Catholic parish has lost 90% of its members - 160 in 1961, only fifteen left today; the Ukrainian Orthodox parish had thirty families in 1961, but few remain; and the Roman Catholic parish has been closed.

Our respondents made some interesting comments on ethnic and religious cleavages in the community. As one youth, a Ukrainian Catholic, put it:

> Well, there is the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic. And basically the people, I mean older people who go to them, don't believe in the other churches' beliefs. So they're kind of stuck to their own faiths. The Roman Catholic one gets quite a lot of people to it every time. Greek Catholic, you know, it's not bad. The Orthodox get quite a few people. In terms of young people going to church, most kids, in my grade anyway, just go to church because their mom and dad say they have to. They have very little belief in God and what the church is teaching. They know their rituals, like being an altar boy, they know what to do when and all that, but other than that they leave the church and they swear and don't care.
>
> Yes. And if there wasn't so much competition between the churches, you know, people are saying, well, that church is no good, my church is better. Like the town would get along better. I guess there is sort of a lot of grief between most people in town, you know, their neighbours. Like I said, people going to church and saying, you know, that church is no good. Or they'll be sitting in church and they're pretending to be real good people. People just don't care. They go to church just to make themselves look good. Most people. And the other people that go to church that are really good people they get dumped on as being, you know, hypocrites.
>
> Yes. I'd say there are groups like that. For one thing, Hafford is really cliquey. If you don't fit into this group, you know, you have to fit in that group. If you don't fit into that group you have to take another one.

A Roman Catholic farmer in the Alberton district added:

> Well, Hafford was mostly a split community, partial French and Ukrainian. And those people like to stay with their friends which they live side-by-side for 30 years or 40 years, whatever it was. And those people there are still quite a few of them around. It does help to keep Hafford town and the small economy around Hafford moving - there is still a few dollars spent. And while those people and those ideals will stay, Hafford will stay. Once those people and there ideas slowly die out, Hafford will go with them.
>
> Well, they are friendly, up to a point. Before they let you into their social circles, you do have to prove that you deserve it. I would say just like any other small community in Saskatchewan here is a certain amount of, what you call it, prejudices.
>
> A high percentage of this area is Ukrainian descent. They still talk the language and there is a fairly high percentage of French speaking Canadians around. And there is smaller groups of Polish people around and those people have been fighting in Europe for a 1,000 years. And you can't expect them to forget the feud in Europe just because they came to Canada 50, 60, 70 or 80 years ago. It doesn't make no difference what nationality you are. And until you outgrow it in Canada it's going to exist. It's not visible very much but it's still there.
>
> Can I notice even a difference, I don't know, sort of an alliance formed in Hafford among the ethnic groups?
>
> I don't know. Alliance, I don't believe. Thee is a few intermarriages, but I don't know, personally I never find anything wrong with it. But here around every once and a while you can feel the tension. But it's nothing to worry about. It's just human nature.

This farmer commented further on the effect of rural depopulation in his district:

> There is not enough population left around. First of all, no matter how small of a social gathering you need somebody to do the work. There is one, two, three small churches around here. They have half a dozen members. Some of them not even as high as that. They can't do nothing. To rent any hall for recreation in town is too expensive and it's too big for half a dozen people. Out here ... there is not

enough people close by to make it pay for it so you're working for next to nothing. That's what it comes down to.

Well, the decline is there. Like the Greek Catholic Church has been going down for about, we've been married for 20 some odd years, and I remember then there was quite a few people at the wedding reception. They were all church members who were serving, there were quite a few of them. Right now you go to another church social and there's only about two left and two new ones came. They just died out, moved out. And if you haven't got the population base, you can't have enthusiasm either because sooner or later some people just ... a few of the guys are just going to say, that is just enough. They do so much you can't expect too much of them. And the town that's a little different. They still do have pretty nice socials, suppers and they do have New Year's Eve dances. That seems to go over quite well but their population is also going down. Not as fast as ours, but it's going down. But Hafford church group we're going to tie in the municipality, so if you take the entire municipality, it's going down quite a bit too because there is only one place they go to church. Before that there was five places where they were going to church.

How would I say the church's importance to individuals is?

In the countryside it is important. Because if you do not belong to a church, if the person quits you'll notice your social life will suffer about 50 percent decline. Because out here most of the functions that have something to do with the church group. That's what our life revolves around.

A Ukrainian Catholic serviceman from the neighbouring district added:

The people were different. Now it is a town where these folks don't associate with each other. [They] stay in a kind of a clique. Will not associate with the other people. So do the church members.

Because of the different nationalities and ethnic groups. The Catholics which usually stay with each other will not go with the Orthodox or anything of that sort. But that because of the religion they were brought up on.

So there's sort of a rivalry.

A big rivalry. And they can't seem to get together

and have the same opinion in school or town life.

> For example, when the two halls were built, the group that wanted to build one hall built one hall, where it should have been a whole community affair. The people in school, the kids in school cannot see eye-to-eye on anything either.
>
> So there's sort of a boundary line between religious groups.

A school teacher in Hafford commented on the changing strengths or weaknesses in the town churches:

> Well, there was participation and I think that has always been a major focal point in the community, the fact that at present we have three churches. And it has varied, like at one time the local Ukrainian Catholic Church probably had the biggest congregation. And then the Orthodox also had a very large population and a lot of young people at that particular time, so we had a lot of youth clubs and so on. Right at the present time it changes. We have lost a lot of young people who are now in Saskatoon. The Roman Catholic Church, they have just building a new building and it is quite full. They, at the present time, have the largest number of young families in the area. Whereas both Ukrainian Churches are in a sense suffering in that area; their young people have gone on and it just seemed that the people that have taken over for them and have bought new farms or businesses or whatever are Roman Catholic at the present time.

7.2 Associations and Organizations

A wide range of voluntary associations and organizations have existed in Hafford over the years. Some - particularly those whose members are largely or exclusively middle aged or seniors - continue to thrive, such as the Catholic Women's League (1929), the Hafford Home and School Association (1951), Hafford Union Hospital Ladies' Auxiliary (1924), Ukrainian Dancing Association (1971), the Music Festival Association (1960), and Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association (1929), and 5-40 Hockey (1963). But many others, entering to various age groups,

have come and gone, such as the Hafford Lodge of the United Farmers of Canada (1926-31), Redberry Agricultural Association (1918-31, when it became an "Illustration Station"), the Cadets (1962-72), Girl Guides (1922-61, 1978-80), Boy Scouts (1910-62), 4-H (1931-80), Homemakers' Club (1936-69), Kinsmen (1958, now joined to Speers branch) and Kinettes (1966-84), Ukrainian Catholic Youth (1930s, now no longer active), and Hafford Women's Organization (1935-50). Clearly, the demise of many associations and organizations has been primarily due to population decline; fewer and fewer members were available.

7.3 Public Services

Perhaps the only public services in Hafford which are defunct have also been business, namely the grain elevators and the banks. In the case of grain companies, consolidations have eventually led to closure of most of the town's elevators: e.g. National bought out British America in 1925, Reliance - North Star in 1939, Pioneer - Reliance in 1948, Cargill - National in 1974, Pioneer - Cargill in 1977, Pioneer - Pool in 1986. Today no banks remain in Hafford; the Credit Union, established in 1944 to fill the void when the last previous bank moved in 1937, closed reportedly due to bankruptcy in March 1988.

But other services have forced better, at least in town. The town first acquired its post office in 1913, however it remains the only post office in the entire region; Luxembourg (Redberry £1) operated from 1906-13, Alberton 1909-63, Springbourne 1909-30, Snohomish 1911-13, Kleczkowski-Oscar Lake 1911-59, Orolow 1937-68. Hafford Rural Telephone, founded in 1917, was integrated with SaskTel in 1976. A Board of Trade (1937), the Grain Growers (1909), a regional library

(1972), and the Recretation Board (1967) continue to serve the community.

Hafford has been particularly progressive in supplying services to its seniors, who now constitute a third of the total town population. The Senior Citizens' Centre was established in 1972 by the Village Council and Board of Trade; today it is one of the most important and active organizations in Hafford. There is also a Hafford and District Nursing Home, opened in 1982. The Hafford Housing Authority, established in 1970, facilities construction and maintenance of low rental units, particularly for seniors, while Big Country Community Projects supplied elderly in Hafford, neighbouring communities, and outlying districts with home care, rehabilitation and counselling services until 1981, when funding cuts forced replacement by Battlefords Home Care.

Hafford Union Hospital dates back to 1946 (although a Methodist mission hospital operated from 1922-40). It functions in close collaboration with the nursing home; the former has sixteen beds, and the latter fifteen. While together those facilities provide limited employment, the mayor and town council have not been able to date to persuade provincial medical authorities to allow expansion beyond the single doctor. The mayor expressed his considerable frustration over the local doctor and other medical staff being so overworked and over surgery not being permitted without an extra doctor plus an anesthetists. He believes medical decentralization is necessary, beneficial and desirable for local employment, better service to rural residents, and to allow the elderly to remain close to their families. Another doctor, more nurses and assistants must, in his view, be

recruited, and the hospital bed space should be expanded. Whether the province will respond positively seems unlikely in a community with a static and rapidly ageing population, within a region with marked population decline.

One youth commented:

> The hospital, itself, the facility is quite modern. It has, you know, an operation room, to do minor surgeries. No bypasses, hear bypasses or nothing but, you know, they'll do minor surgery. X-ray facilities you know. It's got a drug store. It's got a nursing home. The doctor, himself, he's all right, but he's you general country doctor. But most people will go to him for just a cold. They don't go to him for much more than that. And if they do, they'll just get a second opinion. Then again, going to the cities. People are losing their faith in the doctor.

7.4 Schools

The closure of country schools during the '50s and '60s should have contributed substantially to an increase in the town's consolidated school enrolment. Yet it is highly questionable whether this happened. In 1965 Hafford School (grades 1-12) had 113 students. Despite construction that same year of a new high school division with twelve classrooms, a library, home economics laboratory, gymnasium and music facilities, by 1974 the enrolment had only climbed to 150, and at last count in 1987 it was down to 128 (Krydor are students, who at any rate are very few in number, are bused not to Hafford but into Blaine Lake).

One older resident tersely commented:

> Let's face it, in the small towns, we don't get the top quality teachers that the cities get because they got the bigger taxes, they can pay them better. And in the small towns, sure it's just like everything else, the space is small, the standards are a little lower, it's just natural.

8. POLITICS

8.1 Review of Issues in Town and Country

In order to ascertain what seem to have been principal issues confronting the village and town councils of Hafford as well as the R.M. of Redberry, minutes of meetings and many other sorts of documents were examined. Of course, there was an abundance of detail. But let us backtrack through three or four decades to learn how the main concerns have changed.

During the fifties, the village council seemed to be preoccupied mostly with rather parochial matters: e.g. "the keeper of every stable or pen shall remove regularly the manure created and no accumulation shall be allowed at any time" (1955); owners of unlicensed dogs would be fined (1956); a curfew was even established for dogs (1957); street lighting was improved (1956); a speed limit was imposed in the village (1957); a plebiscite was proposed over the question of establishing a liquor store (1958); and the Liquor Licensing Commission should be sequestered to hold a referendum or mixed drinking (1959); the Department of Highways should be requested to maintain the road linking Hafford to the main Saskatoon-Battleford highway "all year long" (1959).

During the sixteen, the most important concern in town was the construction of waterworks and a sewage system (this dominated council meetings 1960-63). Other concerns included construction of a new school; shop closing hours; and paving main street (1960); construction of sidewalks; development of a regional part at Redberry Lake (1961); building a covered skating rink (1962) improving street lighting; a 9:00 P.M. curfew for children under 16 (1963); opposing a health clinic in Blaine Lake; construction of a curling rink (1965); and traffic

regulation (1969). Issues in the R.M. of Redberry included, e.g., establishment of grid road grading stations; agricultural conservation; transfer of school land; building and improving country roads; water supply and sewage; termination of bounty payments on coyotes and foxes; fish stocking in Redberry Lake; and "declaration that the Ukrainian Home of Enlightenment be designated a safe place for public functions" (all in 1962); gravelling roads (particularly school bus routes) and development of a gravel pit (1963-64); establishment of a regional part on Redberry Lake (1964).

During the seventies apparently much progress was made in village development. In 1970, the council reacted to the CMR's proposal to close railway stations, and discussed the possibility of commercial fishing on Redberry Lake. In 1971, further action was taken on developing a regional park. In 1972, a senior citizens' home was proposed, also a regional library; herding cattle in the village was prohibited. In 1973 the New Horizons senior citizens' centre became a reality; snowmobiles were to be regulated. In 1974, the feasibility of constructing a complex containing a curling rink, arena, and community hall would be examined, as well as the financing of a new municipal office, firehall, and better streets. Traffic regulation continued to be a problem in 1975. In 1976 an agreement on the regional park was finalized; the speed limit on the highway past Hafford would be reduced (to 50 mph). In 1977 hospital equipment was improved (e.g. an X-ray machine); a nursing home would be constructed; a low rental housing program inaugurated to counter "an acute shortage of rental housing accommodation"; a special care home would adjoin the hospital. 1978 saw the improvement of bus service, a feasibility study of recreation

facilities in the village, upgrading of water and sewage, and provision of better ambulance service. In 1979 a business improvement district was created; fire services were improved; nursing and recreational facilities were expanded.

Hafford was upgraded to the status of town (from village) in 1980. This same year, a second phase of low rental housing development commenced. Eldorado Nuclear was invited to consider the town as a possible location for a very controversial uranium processing plant. A new "communiplex" multiple purpose recreational facility was further planned, to be funded equally by the town, Recreation Board, and R.M. Through the early eighties concerns reminiscent of earlier years resurfaced, such as street lighting, pet control, water treatment upgrading, traffic control, etc. A good deal of attention was devoted to financing water and sewage, recreational facilities, and new housing. In 1987 Canada Post was requested to guarantee that "our municipality will not have to suffer from any form of discrimination with reference to the quality of our postal services". This same year, the R.M. office initiated a Redberry Lake Planning Project, and requested construction of a four-lane highway west from Saskatoon.

The picture which emerges from all this detailed review is that the local village/town and R.M. councils are progressive and enterprising and have really done a lot to develop and maintain the town and surrounding country.

8.2 Composition of the Town Council

Who, exactly, became the "key influentials" in town? How much turnover is there in village or town government? To answer this

question, the composition of village/town councils since 1955 was examined. The conclusion can be drawn that many members, perhaps half, sit very long terms averaging about eight years. Since 1961, the village overseers (to 1980) or mayors (since 1980) have averaged almost five years each in office. All of them since 1955, and almost all council members, have been Ukrainian, with only four Polish and one French (by our count).

8.3 Town and Country Development

The present mayor is particularly proud of the instrumental role he and his predecessors have played in developing services and recreational facilities. Emphasizing strongly the need to be progressive and imaginative, he commented:

> We're proud of our communi-plex that we have built. We're kind of proud of the community, that they have come together and a lot of volunteer work and donations and support that we've had. We are proud of our facility. It's one of the finest in the northwestern corner of the province for size and structure. We've had comments from all over the areas. We have a community hall, which draws a lot of people. Very big weddings are traditions here, Ukrainian weddings - it's a 500 or 600 guest entertainment here so everybody in the area seems to know. We are renting out a lot to weddings and other functions. We'd like to se the governments to kind of steer or give some direction for business development in rural areas.

The mayor was optimistic about the potential of Redberry Lake to draw people to the region. He foresees extensive summer cottage development, and expanded, upgraded facilities at the regional park, which should bring people into Hafford to shop. We would be more reserved in our predictions, perhaps. The Redberry lake Market Opportunity Study (1984) rated the recreational potential of the lake

"moderate to low"; the main limitations for generating and sustaining water-based activities have been fluctuating water levels (making it difficult in some places and at certain times to launch boats), salinity (the lake water has a high saline and chemical content), lack of sport fish (in turn, the salinity has reduced stocks of certain kinds of fish), lack of attractive shoreline (in some stretches, the shore is marshy or void of trees). Building better roads linking the lake to Hafford and to the highways has long been discussed, but not acted upon. On the other hand, thee are many positive factors - proximity to Saskatoon, relatively large size, (8 x 8 km) limited cottage development, an existing yacht club, and beautiful, unspoiled scenery, to name only a few. The lake might still figure prominently in regional development.

9. THE CHANGING QUALITY OF LIFE

Most of the respondents commented lucidly on the changing quality of life in the community and region. Perhaps this, more than anything, reflects the impact of rural depopulation. How do the local people see the future?

9.1 The Elderly

A retired Polish Catholic farmer woman from the Sich district:

> I think there is a very big division now between the young and the old. I think they should probably give a chance for the young people to go and work among the old people. For instance, being paid and at the same time learn about the old. I also think that our old people in old age homes, are given too much sedatives. All I see when I pass here all they do is sleep. Like they're sitting and they are sleeping. I think there should be something for them to be more happier. I think I would like to live to my day the fullest. I think the government should look on farms, our homes, our houses. I think we should get water - everybody. A lot of people still don't have running water in their homes. And we don't have proper housing because everything is so very expensive.
>
> And I think that's why a lot of people are leaving, because it's very costly and they can't afford it.
>
> Because I think their sons and daughters are farming here, that's the reason that some are staying, they are not leaving the area. I think that's the only reason. Because there's a lot of old people. Also because there's a school and a hospital. That's what keeping the people, you know. So that kind of helps. Other towns they don't have that. So actually those people that are staying here have employment and then a few more that are older and a few more that are farming around.

A retired Ukrainian Catholic store owner from the Krasne district:

> ... You know, everyone is so busy trying to get by and pay for their things that time goes by and you don't get to enjoy life.
>
> I don't think that [the church is as important] to

the younger generation like it was say 30 or even 40 years ago. Because times change and people change. Society doesn't seem to need it as much. But you still see active church groups in town and families going to church. But the socials and bake sales and dances aren't as good today. Of course there aren't as many church going people around today either - many don't have time or have moved away.

What would I say about the community spirit in Hafford?

It's very good. Never any problem getting things done. Sure, it's different now than the old days because people make different livings and don't have to work together as much but the community spirit is there when it is needed. Being in business here for 45 years, I have seen many community projects come and go and most succeed because folks work together to make the town better.

What do I see for the future of Hafford?

We will always be here. It's a good place to live. It's a bad time right now, but we've seen bad times and we've come through. This isn't so bad now anyway ... I like to be an optimist.

9.2 The Youth

A French Catholic Girl:

So how does this make me feel about Hafford? Like do I wish that Hafford would offer more?

Yes, I wish it were bigger and would offer more. I don't know, because it's kind of sad - everybody's going away because there's nothing here to do.

Like just build better things, like theatres or something, tennis court, just something for us to do.

So like, there's the communi-plex. But who can really use it that much? I wish the kids had somewhere they could go to hand out.

Yes, like a bigger place. I don't know, there's usually out of town parties, there is nothing to do here. Like the kids basically run off. So it's just either party or sit at home.

How do I think my friends and classmates feel about this?

They probably wish that there were more things going on here. Because its boring, you know. The only thing that you can really do is go watch hockey or something.

The farm was important back then. Now, kids are just breaking away, going out and getting jobs of their own.

Why do I think there are so few kids that are really staying on the farm?

Basically nothing to do in town and they're sick of, I don't know, I guess of staying at home.

According to statistics farm sizes have increased while the number of farms are decreasing so that would certainly mean that there are big rich farmers eating up all the land.

Well that's bad, because, like, their parents might be the ones that have nothing or have gone bankrupt all because of just society changing and everything.

I guess the prices of everything and people getting fed up with what they were doing, started to move away and kids started to move away and never got started again. So half the spirit was gone.

[In bygone days] there was more things to do here. And people were happier, I guess, happier with what they were doing. And they just thought it great to live here but I guess now [everyone is] moving away and it's not really great.

[Hafford] didn't expand and it's kind of an old little town with nothing to do here.

In future ... there'll probably be people still staying here. Like the older people, the older generation and there won't be any kids you know. And I think school will be mostly shut down. Cause the enrolment's gone down a lot.

Like usually what happens is people will have babies but then they go out of the community and young kids aren't interested to come back here.

You have to travel into the city to do things now.

There's lots of old people still left in Hafford.

Because everything else is going down. And there's

just no more interest in the community.

There's still, like ... I don't know, in our church now they're not trying to gather up a youth group and stuff like that. But it's not working. Just the old people still remain there and they want it their way and nothing ever changes.

Well I think people want the community to stay the way it is. They don't want it to change. I think old people are afraid that the community is going to turn out to be like a big bustling town so they just want it to stay just the way it is.

Because they're old and youth groups and stuff like that doesn't appeal to them anyway. And they're not for it, like really.

They are probably worried about what's going to happen.

Kind of a slow beat town.

So do I think that a lot of young people would have things to offer?

Well they do, but they don't take chances at it. And that's why nothing ever happens.

I don't know. They're scared I guess.

Scared of ...

Of failing maybe.

General laziness. You know, they just don't want to do anything, they don't care really.

Well they need like they want to do things coming out but I don't now, that doesn't happen. But we need more exciting things to do and stuff to get families interested but.

So who would I say should be the ones to initiate some new and exciting things for Hafford?

The young people.

But they seem sort of apathetic.

Yes. Like they won't respond.

What do I think it's going to be like in a few more years or even twenty years or so?

It's just going to be a dead little town. No one's going to want to come back here or anything.

A boy of mixed Ukrainian-Italian origin:

You can't be too young and wild in Hafford. Usually you have to go to other towns to have any fun, because in Hafford ... Like our school and our town is just too small, to be any pace to have fun. Like there's hockey rink, there's hockey games in winter and there's football games during the school time but, you know, on a Saturday night or something we usually sit in Radisson or other towns, you know. Or else people go to the city quite a bit. Other than that, like I said, especially in the winter time, what do you do? There's no movie theatres, there's no [interesting] restaurants. We're not old enough to go to the bar.

The kids who stay here, maybe they could do better for themselves. It's not an easy or exciting life out here. But it's their choice, you know, if that's what they want, good. Hafford needs somebody to stay behind too. Otherwise it's going to die faster than it is.

Every second house has an old women or an old man in it who is, you know, one leg in the grave if you want to put it that way.

Like ... there's more people dying in Hafford than are moving in. There are a few new houses, few new people. But for those few new people, ten have died. And like they say our population is 500 or something but it's going down. And there's not many businesses. ... like they had three garages, two of them closed down, and the other one all he does is pump gas. So, you can't even call them service stations. So the guys, the farmers around the area don't specifically come to Hafford for that reason. So they go, you know, to the city. So right there in Hafford, the stores are losing business. The bar's losing business. Everything, every business is losing business because the farmers aren't coming in as much. So when you get that, pretty soon the stores lose money so they close down. Pretty soon the bar's losing money so it closes down and the town is finished.

Well, I think that the quality of life in Hafford has gone down lots. Like if there was a better background in religious activity probably it would be

a more prosperous community. Be a better place to live. I think, though, for the other kids, most of them don't even care. They don't care one way or another whether the church is there or not.

Like the only way to keep Hafford alive, to get it growing and that again, is for people to stay around (and I'm talking lots of people) to move in to the area, to the R.M. or the town. Start the businesses, get more money flowing, start new farms. You know, and another thing is the prosperity of the town also has to do with what grain prices are like.

How do I feel about ... how does it make me feel personally what I have seen has been going on in Hafford?

You know, I don't really think about it too much. When I do it's not good. Like you know, 40 years down the road, I drive back to Hafford, if I don't live in Hafford, I drive back to Hafford to show my kids my roots and where I grew up and stuff. And if thee's nothing here to show them, you know, it's not a good scene. I'm upset. I just don't think it's good.

Hafford is a pretty good place. And it's dying. No matter how you look at it, no matter what you do. Like I said before, you're going to need a lot of money, and lots and lots of people to make that town grow and to make it develop further so that people want to stay around here. That's it. That's what it boils down to.

A Roman Catholic boy of Ukrainian-Polish origin:

What do I usually do on a weekend? Just go out and party, that's it. No, there's no place where all the kids meet and hang out. I guess there's just no more interest in [clubs]. People think that's sissy stuff. What do I think about Hafford in the future? Dean. I'll give them another 20 - 50 years. What could be done to help? More people, I guess. I don't know. Yes, if there was more businesses and more farmers. I think the lake will be helpful - people will be coming to town and buying things. How would I describe the people in Hafford? Nosey. One person says something and in about ten minutes the whole town knows it.

9.3 Farmers

An affluent young farmer in the Orolow district:

> Hafford's got it way over on Krydor. Krydor is dying out. Hafford has all the facilities needed. Just about everything. All the needed conveniences. They don't die, they move away because of no work. Because of retiring. Hafford is pretty good. There's a lot of young people living in it and around the town. It's got ... everything.

What does it offer for a young person though?

> There's a lot of young people growing up in Hafford. But work wise, you either have to go to school and try to get a job in the city or try to get a degree or something. And a lot of the older people, and they don't want to quit their jobs because they're bored, because they are still in their prime of life. They don't want to give it up. They spent two-thirds of their life there, that why should they give it up, the last third.

I told you about the population falling, how does this make me feel?

> Sad. Well sure there's less people in the community. There's less parties, less social events, less ... There's less people being involved. There's less people helping with projects. The more people you have the more fun it is. That's life. That's the way it is.

A older, poor farmer in the Alberton district:

> Well, the quality of life, in this small an area for the simple reason it's very high old age pensioners around, it's still pretty good in Hafford because the people who work here and live here they tend to stay around most of the time. But it's not the case a lot of other places. And I still say it's better then city living. For the future, not very much. It is looking very grim. It's just like looking at the sunset, you know, it's going to get dark and it's going worse.
>
> Well, I don't know, I shouldn't knock the town. But for anybody who's finished grade twelve there is practically nothing. There is absolutely nothing. There is two grocery stores, two hardware stores and one garage and that's it. You can't have too many people working in those places and those places are geared to a small town. So that's why I says it's practically impossible. Because there is no work,

there is nothing to keep them around here for. And farm sectors can't employ any more young people. The cash is just not there.

A rural serviceman in the Alberton-Kleczkowski district:

The people just have to try their home some place. They've grown up in the area. They don't want to move to the city because of the expensive houses. So they buy a lot in Hafford or a home move to Hafford. That's why the increase. But the young people are not flocking to Hafford because they have no jobs. There is no place in town for a young person.

What could I say the town offers young people, like teenagers?

Nothing. There's no chance for improvement at all for any teenager. The only place that they can get a job is on the highway crew, even now the Co-op has its full crew. So there is no room for advancement, no room for jobs.

What's offered for the teenager in Hafford?

Nothing. For entertainment ... the only thing that they can go to is Mid-Town Variety for arcades and school dances. But otherwise there's nothing else. If they wanted other entertainment like movies, they can rent movies in town. But otherwise they have to go to Battleford to go to a movie. That's the closest city.

The quality of life. It is poor. Some of the middle farmers have lost their land. The quality is they haven't got enough money to survive another year. The well-to-do people are living in town, not caring about the poor people. They are not helping each other to survive. They are not trying to keep the community together. They are pulling apart and pulling the community apart. And if thee are any more people that are going to leave the area, the town will die due to only the aged that will survive in the town. Every ten people on the block are aged old ladies, widow women, and the town cannot survive with no income from the area.

The quality has declined.

Very much so. Compared to when I started seventeen years ago, the quality is very poor. It cannot last much longer.

So I don't see too much opportunity in the future.

No. I cannot see any at all. Not unless the older people give the younger people a chance to run some business, or learn to run some business in the town. The town is run by, what I call old fogies. And if the younger generation does not get a chance to start some business in town sconer or later something's got to give out. Because the young person has to go to get experience someplace and if you can't get it in your own town, it's pretty hard to get some place else. And the young generation will not stay around town long enough to. So I can't see it surviving at all.

9.4 Townspeople

A school teacher:

Obviously the town is holding its own.

I think generally people are looking at the fact that the farmers, like the farms are still there. People are holding there own on the farm land, but we're not getting any new people. However, you know that's not really true because we do have a lot of young people who have taken farms over and we've had a lot of older people move into town and we've also had a lot of younger people move into town. Like I say because of the hospital, because of the school, and the businesses it's holding it's own. And actually, to be quite honest, I'd say it's growing in a sense. Even though population wise, we've had a bad two years and we probably have lost 50 people just through death alone, natural causes and accidents and so on. And that was what's really taken the drain.

Today we must have ten houses that are empty. So the change is that drastic all of a sudden. A lot of the old pensioners have passed away and so on and we haven't had that many people move away; in fact we've had more people move in then move out.

A Businessman:

What does the community have to offer? Well, if you compare it to Toronto, it has peace and quiet. The ability to get to work in ten minutes or less. Has a regional park within six miles from town that offers some amenities that other communities don't have. I can have breakfast on my deck in the morning and be to work in ten minutes and there's not too many people that do that. It's a good place to raise kids. I don't know whether it's a Ukrainian

influence or not but I would think that perhaps the kids here are better behaved than they are elsewhere.

Little more respect for people. I think that may be from the Ukrainian tradition, I don't know.

Certainly there's a good degree of cooperation. But then you get any number of people and you have diverse ideas on how things should be done. But I think there's a good degree of cooperation.

What would I like to see come into the community? About another 2,000 people. But I don't know how to get them in.

Let us give the final word to the mayor:

I chose it, the smaller community for the purpose of raising children - is much easier in a small community than it was in the city. You've got better control of them, you know where they are and what they are doing. And in the smaller centres you've got, you know your neighbours and the whole community in itself. Where bigger cities don't offer you any of that - you don't know your neighbours.

We have tried. But one of these days the thing is the economy will turn and we will get somebody interested in setting things up. Do you want to know what the population change means?

Well what we really need, we haven't very much to offer. But as far as employment, we only have some summer employment available that the town tries to hire students and [the local merchants] usually come out with some student employment for summer which will give them the opportunity to work.

There's quite a good community spirit here.

There was always help, I remember this old arena that has been knocked down there has been volunteer help all the way. When you called on twenty people, twenty people showed up and did their day's work. We have people out from the country and the town and that are sitting on the boards and they are doing a terrific job. They are working even on our new complex. We needed help, we just called on them. Volunteer people come out as far as fifteen to twenty miles away and they come and did their share of work. And they didn't mind, they were all here when you needed them. We have an active Women's Club that just organized in the past few years. There's something like over forty members from right out of

the country and the town and very active in their commitments to their club. A lot of organizations in our town, so we're never stuck for catering people. In fact these are all volunteer ladies and they call on and have their groups and just do their work because they see we need it for the community to keep the community together and the community spirit as well.

So it seems there's sort of a deep commitment here.

Our community here is never a stand still because there is always activity every day. There are activities, whether it be summer or winter there's always something going on, you know, bingos and dances and weddings and ball and everything else.

I would say it hasn't changed very much you know. Still everybody goes to coffee row and has their stories. There's quite a few people who are interested in stuff like that, you know that's sort of their entertainment in the aging type of population. And the young ones they just go there and they have these video games and stuff like that. I wouldn't say they have changed too much in their way of living. But they just go their little different ways. But I notice now even the youngsters that come to the wedding, they seem to kind of join the older people and miss in and do their old-time dancing and stuff like that. They are coming back slowly but I remember years and years back it's always parents and children used to go out together, you know to dances and everything. Now the young ones go on their own and parents go on their own, but it's changing, they seem to be mixing in with the older people now quite a bit.

What would I like to see for Hafford in the future then?

Oh I would personally like to see an industry. And I'd like to see a lot of our younger generation take interest in trying to promote the smaller communities, as their homebase and try and develop some skills, something to do, actively involved into make their communities grow. In that way we could reverse that flowing to the city. It's not very good what's happening. What's happening is they are overcrowding the cities and they haven't got employment and there's all these murders and stabbings,. That's exactly what it leads to - overpopulation and not enough work. So I would like to see in our town more younger people getting interested in some sort of development or industry.

Well, just in closing I would say, I just hope that the economy does turn around. I think it will. I'm quite optimistic and our community will get back on its feet and survive. You know, with the farmers suffering as well as our towns. But I think things will reverse. I'm quite optimistic. The government is starting to influence the professionals to get out in the smaller areas and do their business there and as well create employment.

10. CONCLUSION

It should be re-emphasized that Hafford and Redberry R.M. were selected for their typicality rather than uniqueness. This is not a poor farming area. So the trends toward rural decline observed here could be far more accentuated in more marginal situations.

Can the apparently inexorable depopulation of the Rural Municipality of Redberry be slowed, halted, better yet reversed? It is clear that population loss in the R.M. must stabilize for the focal town to survive. This can only happen if agriculture primarily based on grain production becomes economical; if farmers diversify their crops and combine crops with livestock; if the governments at both the provincial and federal level provide incentives for younger farmers to stay in agriculture and to gain expertise in management; if Redberry Lake and perhaps other lakes are developed for recreation, tourism, and summer homes - there are many "ifs", and yet it is not at all clear how much will realistically be accomplished.

Can anything be done at this late stage to save Krydor? Not unless there is an injection of younger population. But here we encounter a "catch-22" situation: it is highly unlikely any young families will come to the village until there are basic services such as foodstores, schools, a post office, perhaps churches serving as community centres, and these will not likely be restored unless there are more people. Krydor is on the verge of being a ghost town, with nobody living there anymore. With the population cut in half every year or two, the village will cease to exist in another five years at most, and will join a long and fast growing list of deserted villages across the prairies.

Hafford, seemingly holding its own for now, is actually on borrowed

time. The Town Council is quite progressive, has accomplished a lot to maintain and improve the community. But it has little time. The youth seem to be growing very disillusioned; most of them take it for granted that they will have to leave the community. The population is rapidly ageing - Hafford serves its seniors well, but a community where the majority of residents are elderly dependents could hardly be viewed as economically viable. It is absolutely crucial to develop local employment - this, however, is easier said than done.

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CHAPTER 4

A SURVEY OF EX-RESIDENTS OF THE TOWN OF HAFFORD AND THE RURAL MUNICIPALITY OF REDBERRY

BRIAN D. MACLEAN

INTRODUCTION

During the course of the fieldwork for the community study, a list of 3000 names and addresses of ex-residents from the Town of Hafford was secured from the Town Hall in May, 1988. Since very few community studies have access to such information, they very rarely are able to include an analysis of either migration patterns or migrants perceptions of the community or why they migrated from it. For this reason, the research team seized the opportunity to conduct such a research endeavour, and preparation for the survey commenced in May, 1988.

The small budget dictated that a survey, if conducted, would have to be a mail out survey since this type of survey is more cost-effective compared to other survey methods. Telephone surveys do tend to produce higher response rates than mail out surveys; however, because names on the list were located as far away as New Zealand, the cost of such an approach would be exorbitant. Furthermore, in-person interviews, which generate the highest response rates, would be practically impossible for the same reason. A mail out survey, therefore, was the most appropriate for the research and every effort was made to ensure a high response rate and to reduce biases of self-selection.

A draft questionnaire was constructed, (see Figure 4-1), and given the number of variables and the categories of response for each variable, it was decided that a sample of approximately 300-400 respondents would be sufficient. Since it is not unreasonable to expect a response rate of between 33%-40% for this type of survey, it was decided that a sampling fraction of 1/3 would be employed to select approximately 1000 names from the list for purposes of generating the sample. The list from the Town Hall was in no particular order of which the team was made aware,

FIGURE 4-1:

SURVEY OF EX-RESIDENTS OF HAFFORD, SASKATCHEWAN

CARD COLUMN

THE FOLLOWING SET OF QUESTIONS ASKS YOU ABOUT YOURSELF. PLEASE ANSWER THESE AS TRUTHFULLY AS POSSIBLE.

1. In what year were you born? 19__ — 6-9

2. Are you female or male?
MALE ___ (1)
FEMALE ___ (2) — 10

3. From what year to what year were you living in Hafford?
FROM 19__ — 11-12
TO 19__ — 13-14

4. Were you single, married, divorced or separated before you left Hafford?
SINGLE ___ (1)
MARRIED ___ (2)
DIVORCED ___ (3)
SEPARATED ___ (4) — 19

5. Are you single, married, divorced or separated now?
SINGLE ___ (1)
MARRIED ___ (2)
DIVORCED ___ (3)
SEPARATED ___ (4) — 20

6. How many people were there in your household when you left Hafford? ____ — 21-22

7. How many people are there in your household now? ____ — 23-24

8. What was your single most important reason for leaving Hafford?
SEEK BETTER JOB ___ (1)
JOIN RELATIVES ELSEWHERE ___ (2)
SEEK BETTER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY ___ (3)
RETIRE IN A NICER PLACE ___ (4)
PROVIDE BETTER OPPORTUNITY FOR CHILDREN ___ (5)
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____ (6) — 25

9. What was your second most important reason for leaving Hafford?
SEEK BETTER JOB ___ (1)
JOIN RELATIVES ELSEWHERE ___ (2)
SEEK BETTER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY ___ (3)
RETIRE IN A NICER PLACE ___ (4)
PROVIDE BETTER OPPORTUNITY FOR CHILDREN ___ (5)
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____ (6) — 26

10. Where did you move to after you left Hafford?
TOWN _____ — 27-29
PROVINCE _____ — 30-31

11. How soon, if ever, did you plan on moving back to Hafford?
DID NOT PLAN TO MOVE BACK ___ (1)
PLANNED TO MOVE BACK SOON ___ (2)
PLANNED TO MOVE BACK EVENTUALLY ___ (3)
WAS UNDECIDED ABOUT MOVING BACK ___ (4) — 32

12. Please indicate which of your relatives, if any, have also moved away from Hafford.
PARENTS ___ — 33
BROTHERS/SISTERS ___ — 34
AUNTS/UNCLES ___ — 35
COUSINS ___ — 36
IN-LAWS ___ — 37
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____ — 38

13. Please indicate which of your relatives, if any, remain in Hafford.
PARENTS ___ — 39
BROTHERS/SISTERS ___ — 40
AUNTS/UNCLES ___ — 41
COUSINS ___ — 42
IN-LAWS ___ — 43
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY) _____ — 44

14. Do you currently live on a farm?
NO ___ (1)
YES ___ (2) — 45

15. Was it easy or difficult for you to arrive at the decision to move away from Hafford?
EASY ___ (1)
NEUTRAL ___ (2)
DIFFICULT ___ (3) — 46

16. What was the greatest difficulty for you in deciding to move?
_____ — 47-48
_____

PLEASE TURN OVER ☞

PAGE 2		CARD COLUMN
17. Were you working most of the time in your adult life while you lived in Hafford?	NO (1) YES (2)	49
18. Please write in the job that you had for the longest period while in Hafford.		50-51
19. Were you self-employed in this job?	NO (1) YES (2)	52
20. Please write in the job that you had, if any, after you left Hafford.		53-54
21. Were you self-employed in this job?	NO (1) YES (2)	55
22. Please write in the job, if any, that you have now.		56-57
23. Are you self-employed in this job?	NO (1) YES (2)	58
24. What was the highest level of schooling that you attained before you left Hafford?	SOME HIGH SCHOOL OR LESS (1) COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL (2) COMPLETED TRADE SCHOOL (3) SOME UNIVERSITY (4) COMPLETED UNIVERSITY (5)	59
25. In your opinion, is there a chance or no chance for a town like Hafford to survive as a viable community?	NO CHANCE (1) NEUTRAL (2) SOME CHANCE (3) A GOOD CHANCE (4)	60
Why do you feel this way?		61-63
26. Looking back, what do you think was the most attractive part about living in Hafford?		64-66
27. What was the most unattractive part about living in Hafford?		67-69
THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOUR SPOUSE. IF YOU DID NOT MOVE FROM HAFFORD WITH A SPOUSE, THEN YOU DO NOT HAVE TO COMPLETE ANY MORE QUESTIONS		
28. Was your spouse working most of the time in his/her adult life while he/she lived in Hafford?	NO (1) YES (2)	70
29. Please write in the job that your spouse had for the longest period in Hafford.		71-72
30. Was your spouse self-employed in this job?	NO (1) YES (2)	73
31. Please write in the job that your spouse had, if any, after you left Hafford.		74-75
32. Was your spouse self-employed in this job?	NO (1) YES (2)	76
33. Please write in the job, if any, that your spouse has now.		77-78
34. Is your spouse self-employed in this job?	NO (1) YES (2)	79
35. What was the highest level of schooling that your spouse attained before you left Hafford?	SOME HIGH SCHOOL OR LESS (1) COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL (2) COMPLETED TRADE SCHOOL (3) SOME UNIVERSITY (4) COMPLETED UNIVERSITY (5)	80

WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION IN THIS RESEARCH. WOULD YOU PLEASE PUT YOUR COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE INTO THE STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE AND POST IT BACK TO US.

so the selection of the sample was carried out by employing a systematic random sampling technique where every third name on the list was selected from a random starting point. In total, 1003 names were selected for the sample to which a copy of the questionnaire, a letter explaining the study, and a self-addressed stamped envelope were mailed during the first week of June, 1988.

Within the period of one week, completed questionnaires started being returned, and upon inspection of these, it was apparent that a large proportion of the returns were not completed but contained a note explaining that the respondent had never lived in Hafford. Upon checking with the Town Hall, it was determined that the list had contained names of residents from the entire Rural Municipality as well as some residents from Blaine Lake, another R.M. which borders on Redberry. It was decided that those residents returning their questionnaires would be sent a second questionnaire with a letter asking them where applicable to answer the questions about Redberry, and where appropriate to answer the questions pertaining to Hafford. Those residents from Blaine Lake who had never resided in Redberry were struck from the list as ineligible respondents.

During the course of the next three weeks, many questionnaires were returned indicating that either their was no person by the name on the envelope living at that address, or that the desired respondent had either died or moved to an unknown address. These returns were coded as non-eligible respondents.

During the last week of June, 1988, a second mailing was sent to those respondents for whom a completed questionnaire had not been returned, and a further 4 weeks passed before the survey was terminated so that the data might be coded, entered and analyses by the closing date of the

entire study. In total 508 completed questionnaires were returned after only two mailings and within the period noted above. Table 4-1 provides an analysis of the responses received in the survey:

TABLE 4-1: ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE FOR THE SURVEY OF EX-RESIDENTS

ISSUED SAMPLE	**1003**
LESS:	
Deceased	7
Address Unknown	51
Not from R.M. of Redberry	18
Total Ineligible Respondents	**76**
RESPONDENTS ELIGIBLE FOR SURVEY	**927 (100%)**
LESS:	
Refusals	33
No return after 2 mailings	386
Total not surveyed	**419**
Total surveyed	**508***

$$R_1 = \frac{\text{completed surveys}}{\text{issued sample}} = \frac{508}{1003} = 50.6\%$$

RESPONSE RATE OVERALL:

$$R_2 = \frac{\text{Completed Returns}}{\text{Eligible Sample}} = \frac{508}{927} = 54.8\%$$

*Includes one invalid case.

FINDINGS

In this section, a description of the findings including general frequencies of response and some cross-tabulations will be presented. The final section will aim at drawing specific conclusions from these data.

DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

Since data were collected from respondents who have moved from either the Town of Hafford or the R.M. of Redberry it will be useful to illustrate what proportion of the final sample that each comprises. Table 4-2 illustrates that the sample is fairly evenly divided on this variable:

TABLE 4-2: ORIGINAL RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS

LOCATION	PERCENTAGE
HAFFORD	49.5
REDBERRY	50.5
N=508	100.0

The age of respondents who completed the questionnaire is significantly related to their original location in that those having left the R.M. tend to be older than those having moved away from Hafford:

TABLE 4-3: AGE OF RESPONDENTS BY ORIGINAL RESIDENCE

AGE	HAFFORD	REDBERRY
20-44	25.9%	14.1%
45-64	45.8%	40.6%
65 +	28.3%	45.3%
N=508	100.0	100.0

χ^2=19.67, α= .0001

The primary reason for the difference in current age between respondents originally from Hafford and those originally from Redberry is that those from Redberry moved away when they were comparatively older, a relationship which is also statistically significant:

TABLE 4-4: AGE OF RESPONDENTS AT TIME OF MOVING BY ORIGINAL RESIDENCE

AGE	HAFFORD	REDBERRY
Under 20	68.7%	51.0%
20-44	25.2%	41.0%
45-64	5.7%	7.2%
65 +	0.4%	0.8%
χ^2=16.63, α= .0008 N=508	100.0	100.0

It would seem from the data on age, therefore, that while both locations have experienced an outward migration of their younger populations, Hafford has lost its younger residents sooner than Redberry. Most likely related to this is the fact that while the Hafford youth leave to take up jobs or pursue education, the Redberry youth most likely stay longer to help with the family farming. If this were the case years ago, the trend is probably declining, however, because as Table 4-5 illustrates most of the people in the sample left the area over 20 years ago (and there is no relation between original location of residence and length of time since moving from the area):

TABLE 4-5: LENGTH OF TIME SINCE MIGRATION

LENGTH (YRS.)	PERCENTAGE
Under 5	0.6
5-9	3.6
10-14	4.2
15-19	6.4
20 plus	85.1
N=508	100.0

Thus, while the data from the survey indicate that there have been, in the past, different factors between town and country which contribute to the age of moving, the survey cannot determine whether these factors are still significant, since it cannot be determined whether the list received from the Town Hall accurately reflects the current mobility of youth in the area.

In terms of gender, the sample reflected a slightly higher proportion of males (54.7%) than females (45.3%), and there was no statistically significant difference between Hafford and Redberry on this variable. However, there is a relationship between the age at moving and gender overall (χ^2=18.81, α= .0003), although this relationship varies slightly between Redberry and Hafford as a result of the age difference at time of moving.

TABLE 4-6: AGE OF RESPONDENTS AT TIME OF MOVING BY ORIGINAL RESIDENCE AND BY SEX

AGE	HAFFORD		REDBERRY	
	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
Under 20	60.6%	77.8%	43.4%	61.9%
20-44	31.5%	17.9%	49.0%	29.5%
45-64	7.1%	4.3%	6.9%	7.6%
65 +	0.8%	0.0%	0.7%	1.0%
	100.0	100.0	100.0%	100.0%
N=508	χ^2=8.8, α= .003		χ^2=9.79, α= .02	

Clearly, for the cohort generated in the sample, females were much more likely to leave at a younger age than their male counterparts for both areas, although the relationship is slightly greater in Hafford than in Redberry ; however, due to such few people leaving either area in the last 15 years appearing in the sample, it cannot be determined if this relationship holds at the present.

DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS

Answers to the question of to where respondents moved indicated that the majority of respondents (73.79%) moved to other locations in the province:

TABLE 4-7:

RESPONDENTS' FINAL DESTINATION AFTER LEAVING HAFFORD/REDBERRY

SASKATCHEWAN N=366 OR 73.79%

Albertown	1	Alticane	3	Alvena	2	Arborfield	1
Avebury	1	Battleford	3	Biggar	2	Birch Hills	1
Blaine Lake	10	Borden	6	Brownlee	1	Buchannan	1
Calder	1	Cando	4	Canora	1	Carrot River	4
Clouston	1	Codette	1	Coleville	1	Cut Knife	2
Davis	1	Delisle	1	Glaslyn	2	Grandora	1
Hanley	3	Hatherleigh	1	High Gate Siding	1	Hodgeville	1
Ibstone	1	Ituna	2	Keatley	2	Kelvington	1
Krydor	8	Laronge	1	Laross	1	Leask	2
Lloydminster	2	Macdowall	1	Margo	1	Marsden	1
Mayfair	6	Maymont	1	Meadow Lake	1	Meath Park	1
Medstead	1	Melville	1	Mildred	2	Moon Hill	2
MooseJaw	3	Nipiwin	1	North Battleford	35	Oscar Lake	1
Paradise Hill	1	Penn	1	Prince Albert	18	Radisson	11
Regina	3	Richard	3	Rosthern	1	Saint Wallburg	1
Sandwith	1	Saskatoon	169	Sheho	2	Shellbrook	3
Speers	4	Unity	2	Vernon	1	Wakaw	1
Watrous	1	Whitkow	1	Wilkie	1	Woodhill	1
Yellow Creek	1	Yorkton	3				

ALBERTA N=39 OR 7.86%

Calgary	3	Camrose	1	Cheadle	1	Drayton Valley	1
Edmonton	17	Fort McMurray	1	Hanna	1	Hays	1
Lac Labiche	1	Leduc	1	Lethbridge	2		
Provost	1	Red Deer	1	Rocky Mtn. House	1	Taber	2
Vegreville	1	Viking	1	Wainwright	1	White Court	1

BRITISH COLUMBIA N=28 OR 5.65%

Atlin	1	Clearwater	1	Creston	1	Kamloops	1
Kelowna	3	Kimberley	1	Monte Lake	1	New Westminster	4
Port Alberni	1	Powell River	1	Prince George	1	Rossland	1
Surrey	2	Vancouver	6	Vernon	2	Victoria	1

MANITOBA N=14 OR 2.82%

Brandon	1	Dauphin	2	Lynn Lake	1	Thompson	2
Winnipeg	8						

ONTARIO N=45 OR 9.07%

Brantford	1	Hamilton	1	Kapuskasing	1	Niagara Falls	1
Regan	1	St. Catherines	3	Sudbury	6	Sutton West	1
Thunder Bay	1	Toronto	29				

QUEBEC N=1 OR 0.20%

St. Jean	1

YUKON/TERRITORIES N=1 OR 0.20%

Yellowknife	1

USA N=2 OR 0.40%

Detroit	1	St. Clair Shores	1

TOTAL CASES=507 VALID CASES=496 MISSING CASES=11 OR 2.2%

Of those who moved within Saskatchewan 17.2% moved to towns in neighbouring R.M.'s, 62.8% moved to towns with a population in excess of 5000, and 46.2% moved to the nearest city of Saskatoon. Of the remaining 26.21% of respondents who moved out of the province 72.3% moved to towns with a population in excess of 5000. While there are no significant relationships between either age at moving, original location, or gender, and province moved to, male respondents were less likely to stay in the province (70.2%) than their female counterparts (77.1%) presumably because they were more likely to move to take up employment.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Respondents were asked to cite the first and second most important reason for their leaving the area. The single most important reason given was to seek a better job as shown in Table 4-8:

TABLE 4-8: REASONS FOR MOVING*

REASON	PERCENTAGE OF CASES
Seek a better job	72.5%
Join relatives	17.2%
Better educational opportunity	34.5%
Retire in nicer place	9.0%
Better opportunities for children	14.8%
Other	38.7%
N=508	186.8%

*More than one response requested from respondent.

Central to the variation in reasons for moving age of moving, original location and the sex of the respondent all of which are statistically significant. Males are more likely than females to leave for purposes of finding employment, while females are more likely than males to seek better educational opportunities, as illustrated in Table 4-9:

TABLE 4-9: MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR MOVING BY SEX

REASON	MALES	FEMALES
Seek a better job	53.5%	30.8%
Join relatives	5.6%	9.8%
Better educational opportunity	17.1%	27.2%
Retire in nicer place	3.7%	2.7%
Better opportunities for children	4.5%	3.6%
Other	15.6%	25.9%
N=508 χ^2=30.34, α= .000	100.0%	100.0%

From Table 4-9, it can also be seen that women which much more likely than men to cite 'other reasons' and the most common response being to get married. As one female respondent mentioned on her questionnaire:

"No men in Hafford!"

Original location was also an important determinant for the reasons for moving. Those living in Redberry were more likely to leave to seek work than their counterparts in Hafford, and less likely to seek better educational opportunities. As discussed below, this is probably due to the younger population of males growing disinterested in farming and seeking other forms of employment to a greater extent than young male respondents in Hafford:

TABLE 4-10: MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR MOVING BY ORIGINAL LOCATION

REASON	HAFFORD	REDBERRY
Seek a better job	40.9%	46.0%
Join relatives	9.3%	5.6%
Better educational opportunity	23.5%	19.6%
Retire in nicer place	1.6%	5.2%
Better opportunities for children	2.4%	5.6%
Other	22.3%	18.0%
N=508 χ^2=12.8, α= .025	100.0%	100.0%

The most striking relationship is between age at moving and the reason for moving. Virtually every respondent who moved from either Hafford or Redberry and who was age 65 or older cited their reason for moving as seeking a better place to retire. Predictably, respondents in the 20-44 age category were most likely to seek a better job and respondents in the youngest age category were most likely to seek better educational opportunities, while those too young to be making the choice on their own were most likely to cite the reason as staying with or joining relatives:

TABLE 4-11: MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR MOVING BY AGE AT MOVING

REASON	UNDER 20	20-44	45-64	65 +
Seek a better job	35.2%	61.7%	25.8%	0.0%
Join relatives	10.2%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Better educational opportunity	31.7%	8.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Retire in nicer place	0.7%	0.6%	38.7%	100.0%
Better opportunities for children	2.0%	5.6%	16.1%	0.0%
Other	20.1%	19.8%	19.4%	0.0%
N=508 χ^2=252.09, α= .0000	100.0	100.0	100.0%	100.0%

Thus the findings in Chapters 2 and 3 of this report are supported somewhat by the survey data reported in Table 4-11. Elderly are most likely to migrate in order to live in larger centres where their are more services and goods available upon retirement. Of course once in their new locations this population provides a basis for even greater growth of services. Younger people on the other hand are most likely to move to seek employment and educational opportunities and also for more suitable marriage partners. As more younger people move away, the availability of suitable marriage partners is diminished. The result of both of these trends is a significant reduction in the rural population and a substantial shift in Hafford's demographic composition.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

The data in the previous section can be summarized in saying that most respondents sought new opportunities for upward social mobility. While no questions directly asked respondents if their reasons for moving were satisfied some indications can be gleaned from the other questions that were asked. At the age of moving from Hafford there was no significant difference between respondents of different gender for marital status. 79.9% of the males and 77.2% of the females reported that they were single when moving. There was, of course, a significant difference between respondents of different ages for marital status at the time of moving but this is expected since people do not get married usually until they are older than 20. However, there was a difference between respondents from Redberry and Hafford on marital status which is statistically significant and which disappears when comparing current marital status:

TABLE 4-12: CURRENT MARITAL STATUS AND AT TIME OF MOVING BY ORIGINAL RESIDENCE

	AT MOVING		CURRENTLY	
MARITAL STATUS	HAFFORD	REDBERRY	HAFFORD	REDBERRY
Single	84.1%	73.3%	16.8%	20.4%
Married	15.9%	26.3%	77.6%	71.4%
Divorced	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	5.9%
Separated	0.0%	0.4%	1.6%	2.4%
	100.0	100.0	100.0%	100.0%
N=508	χ^2=9.2, α= .0099		χ^2=2.8, α= .4239	

As can be expected a considerable number of the respondents (most of whom were under 20 at the time of moving 20 years ago) have married as they became older; however, the rural/town difference has disappeared indicating that marriage is a more significant outcome of moving for rural residents than it is for town residents.

Because over 70% of the respondents cited their reasons for leaving as seeking better employment the following tables illustrate to what extent they have been successful. Table 4-13 shows selected occupational groupings at the time of leaving by original place of residence:

TABLE 4-13: COMPARATIVE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS BY ORIGINAL LOCATION AT TIME OF MOVING, AFTER MOVING, AND PRESENTLY

Occupation	Hafford	Redberry	Hafford	Redberry	Hafford	Redberry
Prop/Managerial	2.9%	2.8%	3.4%	7.8%	10.0%	13.6%
Professional	8.6%	2.3%	23.3%	13.4%	16.2%	11.5%
Farming	12.6%	64.4%	4.9%	10.0%	2.6%	4.1%
Other	24.1%	4.6%	52.9%	53.7%	32.8%	25.1%
Not in L. Force	23.1%	14.4%	15.5%	15.2%	38.4%	45.7%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N=508	χ^2=114.53 α= .0000		χ^2=13.33 α= .0098		χ^2=7.7 α= .1023	

Rural Town differences depicted in Table 4-13 illustrate that originally there was more people in the town who were not in the labour force than in the R.M. A portion of this difference is explained by the fact that a majority of the ex-Redberry respondents reported farming as their occupation (64.4%) and would, therefore, consider themselves to be in the labour force. The first two categories are what people would generally refer to as good jobs and on these two categories the proportion continually increases through the present despite the fact that labour force participation declines as a result of many respondents retiring over the last 20 years.

Of significant interest is the large reduction in the proportion of those farming from 12.6% and 64.4% in Hafford and Redberry respectively when moving to 4.9% and 10.0% respectively just after moving and 2.6% and 4.1% currently. If one considers that those living in the R.M. probably

lived on farms (55.4% of the entire sample) then it is not surprising that only a small proportion of the overall sample (10.7%) currently live on a farm some of which are not currently farming as an occupation.

Also of key significance is the fact that after moving there is a considerable drop in the proportion of Hafford respondents who are not in the labour force indicating that they found employment and a slight increase in the proportion of Redberry respondents who are not in the labour force.

The data in Table 4-13 seem to indicate that those from the Rural Municipality were more successful at finding better jobs, while those in the Town of Hafford were more successful at finding employment. In either case, it might be concluded that the respondents from both areas appear to have improved their occupational status by moving from the area. Of course it is likely that these respondents would have married and found employment in any event even if they had stayed in the area, although the survey data do not allow this to be examined. However, it would seem from the interview data in chapter 3, that most of the young people see moving from the area as a chance to realize upward social and occupational mobility while the survey data seem to give some support to this perception.

DIFFICULTY IN MOVING

Three questions on the questionnaire can serve as indicators of the difficulty in moving. While the exodus of people from rural areas may be problematic to the local economy, one might suspect that it would also be of some difficulty to the respondent. Moving away from ones home often means separation from friends and close relatives, and sometimes one might feel emotionally reluctant to leave.

Question 15 on the questionnaire asks respondents how difficult is was to move. On this variable, no significant differences were observed between males and females, different age groups, or rural and town respondents. Table 4-14 presents the frequencies of response for this question:

TABLE 4-14: DIFFICULTY IN MOVING

RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE OF CASES
Easy	62.6
Neutral	28.1
Difficult	9.3
N=508	100.0%

Thus as the table above illustrates only 9.3% of the respondents expressed a definite difficulty in arriving at the decision to move. Such a result, while unexpected, is also related to the responses for question number 11 in which the respondent is asked how soon he/she planned on returning, if ever. Again there were no differences in responses for this question by respondents from different sub-groupings. The results from this question are presented in Table 4-15:

TABLE 4-15: PLANS ON RETURNING

RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE OF CASES
No plans to return	85.9%
Return soon	1.0%
Return eventually	2.0%
Undecided about returning	11.0%
N=508	100.0%

It would seem from these data that most respondents were very clear about their objectives in moving and that they saw their move as being a permanent one. This result is particularly troubling, since during the community study an attitude that once the farming sector improved, people in Hafford would be more likely to stay and that people who had

left might be likely to return was prevalent. The data above seem to contradict such a notion, particularly when one considers that the cohort represented goes back as far a s 20 years.

THE VIABILITY OF THE COMMUNITY

One attitude which seemed to prevail in the Town of Hafford which became apparent during the course of the fieldwork there was that the community was viable. The general feeling seemed to be that while people recognized that times were difficult for the present that this was a temporary condition. More than one respondent expressed the view that if the Town could survive the current strain without things getting worse and without any more drops in the population then things would improve in the future. Thus, there was a considerable optimism about the viability and future of the town.

Interestingly, a similar optimism seemed to be expressed by a majority of the respondents in response to question 25 which asks them about the viability of a town like Hafford. Again for this question there were no significant differences between different groups of respondents. The results are tabulated in Table 4-16:

TABLE 4-16: PERCEPTIONS OF THE VIABILITY OF HAFFORD

RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE OF CASES
No chance	10.8
Neutral	13.9
Some chance	35.6
A good chance	39.7
N=508	100.0%

Thus an overwhelming majority of respondents felt that the community had at least some chance for survival so that this cannot be

seen as the reason for people leaving. The data indicate that people are not worried about the town collapsing and that they had better leave before it does. Rather, they see the community as viable but other locations as promising better opportunities.

CONCLUSIONS

While the above can only be seen as a brief review of the data generated from the survey of ex-residents, there are some important findings which tend to support some of the conclusions drawn from the other components of the study. It is clear that the overwhelming majority of respondents who moved from the area over the last 20 years moved when they were young and for purposes of seeking better opportunities than the local community is seen to offer.

The exodus of young people from the farming area appears to be even greater than those moving from the town and there are serious implications both at the local level and province wide. The survey data suggest that the Town of Hafford has had little success in compelling its younger population to stay on living in the community and only marginal success in the attracting the elderly from the Rural Municipality of Redberry for retirement. As the data in chapter 1 illustrate, if the current trends continue the population of Hafford will be disproportionately elderly by the year 2000; however, as the data in chapter 2 suggest there is little reason to expect the current trends to continue. The larger population centres will be more likely to attract seniors because of the functional diversity they offer. The seniors' presence will stimulate the economy enough to maintain a younger population and economic growth which will in turn attract more of the senior population for their retirement.

It is clear from the survey data, however, that Hafford and Redberry have had little success in maintaining the young population who are eager to leave for larger population centres and to seek better opportunities. The data in chapter 2 and this chapter suggest that it is the elderly population that is maintaining the current economy in Hafford, and without a proportionate younger population to replace the seniors, it is unlikely that the number of services will increase in the community and it will be very difficult to attract seniors from other areas for their retirement. Should this scenario emerge, the depopulation process in Redberry and in Hafford particularly would be very likely to accelerate at the expense of the economy there.